

FEDERATIONIST



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The American FEDERATIONIST

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor

JUNE, 1953

GEORGE MEANY, Editor

Vol. 60, No. 6

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Work

Work is one of the best educators of practical character. It evokes and disciplines obedience, self-control, attention, application and perseverance, giving a man deftness and skill in his special calling and aptitude and dexterity in dealing with the affairs of ordinary life.

Work is the law of our being, the living principle that carries men and nations onward. Labor may be a burden and a chastisement, but it is also an honor and a glory. Without it nothing can be accomplished. All that is great in man comes through work—and civilization is its product.

Indolence is equally degrading to individuals as to nations. Sloth never made its mark in the world and never will. Sloth never climbed a hill nor overcame a difficulty that it could avoid.

True happiness is never found in torpor of the faculties but in their action and useful employment. It is indolence that exhausts—not action, in which there is life, health and pleasure. The spirits may be exhausted and wearied by employment, but they are utterly wasted by idleness.

Leisure cannot be enjoyed unless it is won by effort. There must be work before and work behind, with leisure to fall back upon; but leisure without the work can no more be enjoyed than a surfeit.

It is not work but overwork that is hurtful, and it is not hard work that is injurious so much as monotonous work, fagging work, hopeless work. All hopeful work is healthful, and to be usefully and hopefully employed is one of the great secrets of happiness. *Samuel Smiles.*

Why is this issue late in reaching you? Please see box on page 7.

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JUN

NO-RAIDING AGREEMENT

AMERICAN Federation of Labor and C.I.O. unity committees have agreed on all the essential elements of a no-raiding pact which, when ratified, will go into effect January 1 and extend for two years. The agreement provides for the appointment of an impartial umpire to make final and binding decisions in cases where a dispute cannot be solved by intermediate steps.

A subcommittee was authorized to draft the actual language of the pact, which will be submitted for approval to the A. F. of L. Executive Council and the C.I.O. Executive Board in August and then presented for ratification to the conventions of both organizations.

A. F. of L. President George Meany and C.I.O. President Walter Reuther expressed full confidence at a press conference that such ratification will be forthcoming. The A. F. of L.'s convention will be held in September.

The next step before the agreement goes into effect will be for all affiliated national and international unions of both organizations to sign up.

Mr. Meany declared the agreement to end raiding will have "a very good effect on progress toward eventual organic unity." He said the unity committees will proceed with merger negotiations. Their next hurdle, he explained, is to survey the jurisdictional conflicts existing between existing affiliates of C.I.O. and A. F. of L. unions and to tackle "the real, knotty problems."

Mr. Meany and Mr. Reuther, displaying complete harmony and friendliness, explained the elements in the agreement to the press conference in an informal manner.

They said the pact provides that unions of both organizations shall agree not to conduct organizational raids against each other in every case where a union has been certified as a collective bargaining agent or has been recognized by the employer as

a collective bargaining agent through the negotiation of a contract.

In such cases, they said, "the other union must stay out."

They said no thought has yet been given to candidates for the job of impartial umpire to decide disputed cases.

The committees acted, Presidents Meany and Reuther explained, after studying data on actual raids that took place in 1951 and 1952. There were 1,245 cases of raiding in those two years, it was found, involving 350,000 workers. The net change in all those cases was a gain of 8,000 members by the A. F. of L., an insignificant number by comparison with the total involved. In the vast majority of the cases, the raiding union did not win.

When the no-raiding agreement is ratified and goes into effect, the large sums of money and the energies hitherto expended in raiding will be released for the big job of organ-

izing the nation's unorganized workers, the heads of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. said.

In answer to questions on details by newsmen, Mr. Reuther said:

"Everyone here is acting in good faith. We are not standing on technicalities."

Agreeing with this statement, Mr. Meany added:

"We are taking a practical approach to the solution of one of the most aggravating problems before us. It will provide us with a breathing spell during which the unity committees will continue to meet for the purpose of trying to achieve organic unity."

Mr. Meany added that the plan involved voluntary arbitration, not compulsory arbitration.

Both leaders told the reporters that the unanimous conclusion of the members of the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. unity committees is that "raiding does not pay" and should be ended.



George Meany and Walter Reuther at unity committees' session

SOME FACTS ABOUT THE POSTAL SERVICE

By **WILLIAM C. DOHERTY**
President, National Association of Letter Carriers



MR. DOHERTY

THE United States postal system is as old as our nation. In fact, there is ample historical proof that our mail service is older than our present form of government. One of the first acts of the Continental Congress was establishment of the post-office. Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania was named Postmaster General by an act of July, 1775.

Franklin was a logical choice. He had served as postmaster at Philadelphia for the British from 1753 to 1775 when, because his sympathies lay with the cause of the colonists, he was summarily ousted.

For more than a century prior to Franklin's appointment there was postal service of a sort in the colonies. In view of the constant hue and cry today about "postal deficits," it is interesting to note that not a single one of those early postal ventures was a financial success. Each in turn was abandoned. Despite this fact, none denied the great convenience of these early postal systems to the colonists. None questioned their usefulness for cutting through the wilderness, promoting travel, opening new areas to settlers and, above all, as a means of binding together our pioneer forefathers.

The mission of the postal system

today is not totally unlike the objective of the earlier postal establishments. We are living in an atomic era, but our mail service continues to be dedicated to the work of giving our nation the greatest communications system on earth, cementing the ties of goodwill, culture and democracy among people, widely separated though they may be. People have changed and technological advances have provided new methods with which to carry out the functions of the postal service, but the real purpose of the system remains unchanged.

In early days the principal means of transportation was by horse or coach. As intercoastal waterways were opened, dispatches were made by boat. The idea was to get a letter from the sender to the addressee as fast as possible. That is still the first objective of the service. Today, however, the Postoffice Department utilizes trains, planes, ships, steamboats, trucks, buses, automobiles, tractors, trailers, riverboats, tugs, pneumatic tubes, helicopters, sleds, wagons, horses and mules to move the mail and get it delivered in the shortest possible time.

Behind all these methods of handling mail are more than half a million employees. Their skill and devo-

tion to duty make the postal service tick. No mechanical contrivance can substitute for their pride in their work; no machine can match the skill of their brains; their loyalty to the traditions of the service is irreplaceable.

In colonial days the sole function of the postal service was to deliver letters and mail packets. It was a cash-and-carry system, the postage stamp not coming into use until 1847. In Benjamin Franklin's day there were less than seventy-five postoffices and only 2,000 miles of post roads. The total budget was approximately \$25,000.

TODAY the postal establishment is, in effect, one of the world's largest businesses. Its revenues equal about two and one-half billion dollars. It employs half a million people. It operates more than 41,000 postoffices. It has a fleet of 30,000 motor vehicles. It manages over 24,000 buildings and leased quarters. Its delivery system reaches every home and office in every section of our country and its possessions.

The point is often overlooked, however, that collecting, sorting, transporting and delivering mail are but one part of the many functions re-

dered the American people by the postal establishment. Among the extracurricular services which come to mind is the sale of savings stamps and bonds, documentary stamps, internal revenue stamps and migratory bird stamps. The Postoffice Department also operates the world's largest savings system, with deposits of 2.5 million dollars.

In most instances, it operates and maintains the federal building in your city. It furnishes personnel to conduct the thousands of civil service examinations going on all over the United States practically every day of the year. At various times the Postoffice Department has given without charge its facilities and manpower to accomplish the mission of some other federal agency. Two of the better known instances in this category were the registration of foreign aliens for the Justice Department and the distribution of adjusted savings bonds, following World War I, for the Treasury Department.

NO ONE knows better than the working men and women that everything you attempt to do costs money. The same is true for each and every project undertaken by our federal government. The rub is that the cost of these non-postal functions is charged to the Postoffice Department. They appear on the balance sheet as a "legitimate" operating charge against the postal service.

Our American people also forget—or they do not know—that millions of dollars are charged against the post-office budget for various free and less-than-cost postal services authorized by Congress.

For example, every time you receive a political letter or a booklet on how to improve your garden from your Congressman, the postage is charged against the operating cost of the mail service. This franking privilege cost 1.7 million dollars in 1952. Other government mail—"penalty mail"—was handled at a cost of 43.3 million dollars. Mail matter accepted for free delivery to the blind cost \$627,664. There was another 10 million charged for registered mail accepted for delivery from government agencies. The total of all these absolutely free services was \$56,572,724.

Several types of service are available to mail users for which a fee is

paid above and beyond the cost of the postage stamp. None of these fees equals the cost of handling the particular transaction involved.

Every time you register or send a special delivery letter, for example, the postoffice loses money. The same is true when you have merchandise shipped C.O.D. to your home or office, or you purchase a money order to pay your bills. In 1952 the deficit charge for these various services was: registered mail, 12.5 million dollars; insured mail, 2.4 million dollars; C.O.D.'s, 8.8 million dollars; special delivery service, 12.6 million dollars; money orders, 23.9 million dollars. The total loss on these special services amounted to \$60,529,942.

Then there are subsidies—real and hidden.

The airlines of the nation are not only paid for hauling mail but likewise receive an additional bonus in the form of a subsidy. In 1952 there was a 32.4 million dollar loss on domestic mail; another 21.1 million dollar loss was incurred in the field of foreign airmail service.

Railroad transportation costs have been in dispute for several years. Of the estimated 381 million dollars paid to railroads in 1952, it would be difficult to say with any degree of accuracy how much was actual cost for hauling and how much was subsidy, if any.

There are also preferential rates.

Preferential rates have long been in effect for second-, third- and fourth-class mail matter. Second-class mail, consisting chiefly of newspapers and magazines, was granted a low rate of postage in the 1870s, following the Civil War. The thought behind this gesture was that wide dissemination of newspapers and periodicals would be of great value in tying together the thinking of our country. Perhaps it continues to be true that newspapers, magazines and books are probably the greatest media of adult education that have ever been devised anywhere. The loss to the postoffice in 1952 for handling 2.3 billion pounds of second-class mail amounted to \$240,386,260.

Users of third-class mail, consisting among other things of circulars and advertising material, have always advanced the argument that their product was valuable in building up the volume of sales in our country, hence building up national income. The

loss in 1952 on handling 11.6 billion pieces of this type of mail matter was \$191,913,098.

Parcel post, or fourth-class mail matter, lost \$153,735,441 during the same period in handling 1.2 billion separate pieces.

Adding up the losses on all these free and below-cost items, we find a whopping service cost of 720 million dollars.

Regardless of what it is called—deficit, service charge or operating expense—it is nothing new. In the past 100 years there have been only thirteen in which postal revenues exceeded expenditures, and those were years of war (when the military assumed a large portion of the charge for transporting the mails) or, for example, when some new or unusual service, like the establishment of parcel post in 1914, brought in additional income.

IF DEFICITS are not new, neither are Congressional investigations, ordered for the purpose of reducing such deficits. The records of Postmaster General Richard Bache, who served under President Washington, disclose that Congress ordered several inquiries to determine if costs could be reduced without unduly decreasing service. In that respect conditions have not changed materially in our day.

This postal deficit would rightfully be a matter of serious concern to every taxpayer if postal functions were rendered to a limited few of our population. Such is not the case. As a matter of fact, no service offered the people by their federal government is as widely available or more universally used than the postal service. Statistics alone prove this claim. For example, during the past five-year period, pieces of mail per capita increased from 261 to 316. This is a 33 per cent increase in mail volume during a period when the population of the United States grew only 10 per cent. In 1954 it is estimated that the postal service will handle 53,700,000,000 pieces of mail, or 329 pieces for every man, woman and child in the United States.

The question is therefore, it seems to us, not one of a presence or absence of a deficit—very definitely postal expenditures greatly exceed revenues—but is the postal service performing (Continued on Page 31)

The Executive Council Meets

SEEING signs of "danger" ahead the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, at its spring session in Washington, urged the Eisenhower Administration to establish a Presidential commission to make "specific recommendations designed to assure continuing economic expansion, financial stability and full employment of men and factories on a sound and stable basis."

"We do not anticipate a precipitous economic decline in the immediate future," the leaders of the American Federation of Labor said. "It is plain realism, however, to expect that, in a free competitive economy such as ours, far-reaching adjustments will take place sooner or later unless forestalled by affirmative programs and policies pursued in concert by the government and by voluntary groups and institutions."

The Executive Council, in proposing a Presidential commission, recommended that it be composed of qualified representatives of labor, business, farmers and the government agencies concerned, including the Labor Department, the Commerce Department and the Council of Economic Advisers.

"It is too late to try to dam the destructive flood waters of depression when they are in full tide," the Executive Council pointed out. "Americans have the right to insist on timely formulation of policies that would help prevent a depression. While there is no reason for immediate anxiety, danger signs overshadow the future economic outlook."

President George Meany reported to the Council that powerful Big Business pressure upon Congress may prevent any action on Taft-Hartley amendments at this session. At a press conference Mr. Meany said:

"The law has got to be changed."

President Eisenhower pledged last year, while campaigning, that he would work for amendments of the Taft-Hartley Act, and in his State of the Union message soon after his inauguration he urged Congress to enact amendments. However, his party

followers in Congress have been dragging their feet ever since it became apparent that business organizations are opposed to changes which would make the law fair to both labor and management.

The Executive Council warned Congress not to cripple the mutual security program. Recent changes in Communist Russia "have made the task of mutual security all the more urgent," the Council declared.

"The threat of Soviet aggression and Communist enslavement has not diminished," the leaders of the American Federation of Labor emphasized.

The Council made seven specific recommendations for Congressional action on the mutual security program. Criticism was leveled at a recent "evaluation" of the program made by a team composed almost entirely of "top business executives."

The Council said:

"While we do not question proper and balanced participation of businessmen in such a program and note that in the past a major share of the top personnel of both E.C.A. and M.S.A. was drawn from the business

community, we take sharp exception to the one-sided makeup of this team and to its obviously immature findings based on hasty and ill-considered observation."

The Council's seven mutual security recommendations to Congress were as follows:

(1) Funds for the American share in the mutual security program should be authorized on a two-year basis.

(2) The multilateral character of the program should be enhanced, not reduced.

(3) In the Pacific area, regional machinery for mutual defense and economic cooperation should be established.

(4) Economic aid should be provided for those non-captive nations of Europe which are still in need of such aid.

(5) Sections of the Mutual Security Act for the encouragement of free trade unionism, free competition, increased productivity and the equitable sharing of its benefits should be retained and strengthened.

(6) More money should be pro-



Boilermakers' President Charles J. MacGowan and George Meany, A. F. of L. head, were snapped at Executive Council session

vided for a "revitalized and expanded" Point Four program.

(7) The mutual security program, the Point Four program and related economic cooperation and aid programs should be administered by an independent agency "in close cooperation with the Departments concerned."

The Executive Council expressed its support of President Eisenhower in his opposition to a cut in taxes at the present time. The Communist world threat, said the Council, makes any attempt to reduce taxes now "the height of irresponsibility."

Working people are willing to continue the heavy burden "so long as the government needs the money to protect the free way of life and to safeguard world peace," the Council declared, adding:

"We would like to see the business interests of the nation take the same attitude."

General Eisenhower has asked that the excess profits tax, due to expire June 30, be continued to the end of the year. In its tax statement the Executive Council urged that steps should be taken in the meantime to adjust normal corporate tax rates upward "to make up for this considerable loss in revenue."

"Even with the excess profits tax, American corporations have been reporting record-breaking net earnings," the Council said. "They should not be given a tax bonanza at the expense of the great majority of American citizens."

The Council expressed disagreement with Mr. Eisenhower on his suggested postponement of the scheduled increase in the social security tax. Unless reserves are built up now, the Council said, "they will soon vanish in the years ahead when social security disbursements are due to exceed revenues."

The Council rejected the report of the International Longshoremen's Association on the state of its compliance with the Council's February directive to clean house or get out. The I.L.A. will be given a hearing by the Council at its August meeting. The Council will then take such action as it believes necessary. The president of the I.L.A. is Joseph P. Ryan.

The Executive Council declared that recent or pending government actions have resulted in "a triple threat to housing progress." These



Dan W. Tracy (left), Electrical Workers' president, chatting with William F. Schnitzler, A. F. of L.'s secretary-treasurer

were enumerated as the removal of federal rent controls, the increase in interest rates to home buyers and the House action eliminating funds for the low-rent housing and slum clearance program.

The Council urged three forward steps—continuance of federal rent controls until July, 1954; legislation that would encourage construction of homes for workers and other middle-class families at prices and rents they can afford to pay; an adequate low-rent public housing and slum clearance program.

"A triple threat to housing progress in the United States has arisen as the result of the recent or pending government actions," said the Executive Council's declaration.

"The first backward step is the removal of the federal rent controls. Unless Congress takes last-minute action to change its previous decision, federal rent controls will expire in all but a few communities in which military installations or atomic energy projects are located. Rent decontrol is coming too soon.

"Recent experience with the decontrol of rents shows that landlords

will exact large rent increases, too often disproportionate to increases in their costs. The lowest-income families will be the hardest hit by these rent boosts when controls end.

"The second backward step is the recent increase in interest rates to home buyers. This will boost the financial burden to home purchasers and make it more difficult for them to carry this burden over a period of years. In the presence of a 90 per cent federal guarantee to lenders under the FHA, virtually eliminating the risk on such loans, the increase of interest charges, bringing them in effect to five (Continued on Page 25)

To Our Readers

This issue is late in reaching you. The major commercial printing plants in Washington, D. C., were shut down for almost three weeks when the Graphic Arts Association, representing the employers, compelled Local 101 of the Typographical Union to cease work. The strike ended in victory for the union. With our next issue we expect to be back on our regular schedule.



MR. REDMOND

The Fire Fighters Like Unionism

By JOHN P. REDMOND
President, International Association of Fire Fighters

THE fire fighters of America have demonstrated that workers are eager to have membership in trade unions and are more than willing to contribute their share of effort to make this world of ours a better place in which to live.

By voluntary affiliation with their local unions, the fire fighters have built an organization whose membership comprises ninety-two per cent of all the fire fighters who can be organized and become members of the International Association of Fire Fighters.

The other eight per cent of the paid fire fighters are found in villages and towns where there are only a few paid members and the rest are volunteers.

Opponents of trade unionism often claim that working people don't want unions. Such statements are quickly disproved when one examines the record of the International Association of Fire Fighters.

Here is a group of public employees who have had to secure the repeal of laws which were passed many years ago and which prohibited them from joining union organizations, and who were induced not to affiliate with organized labor by being offered the same conditions and benefits that the organized fire fighters were enjoying. But during the depression years the unorganized fire fighters' salaries dropped far below the salaries of other public employees. The progres-

sive elements in the fire departments soon realized that their only salvation was to organize and affiliate with other union members—and this they have done, to their everlasting credit.

When we look back a few short years and see the progress that has been made as a whole by the fire fighters of the United States and Canada, we realize that it was only through intelligent organization that the improvements were made.

The International Association of Fire Fighters has never used the normal methods of organized labor to achieve its aims. It has always been by pressure, logic and reasoning that we have improved our conditions and secured better salaries. Our greatest pressure has been gained through affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, with State Federations of Labor and Provincial Federations of Labor, and with city central labor unions.

No matter how hard our opponents

may try to discredit the union vote, eight million voters in any organization are something that no politician or political party can afford to antagonize, and the Fire Fighters appreciate the wholehearted support that has always been given to their programs by our brothers and sisters in the union labor movement.

Tremendous progress has been made in the last two or three years, not only for our own members but for the communities we serve. And while world conditions are such that the danger of attack from the air is imminent, our fire departments must be strengthened so they can reduce to a minimum the damage wrought by any attack from an unfriendly nation.

This can be accomplished to some extent by creating working conditions and salaries that will attract the right kind of men to the fire-fighting service. The private of today is the chief of tomorrow.

Meany Urges Rent Pleas

PRESIDENT George Meany of the American Federation of Labor has asked all State Federations of Labor and all central labor unions to write or wire their Senators and Congressmen not to permit federal rent controls to die July 31.

"Unless legislation is enacted to extend the program," Mr. Meany pointed out, "there will be no federal rent controls after that date in any community except a very limited number of areas in which military installations or atomic energy projects are located."

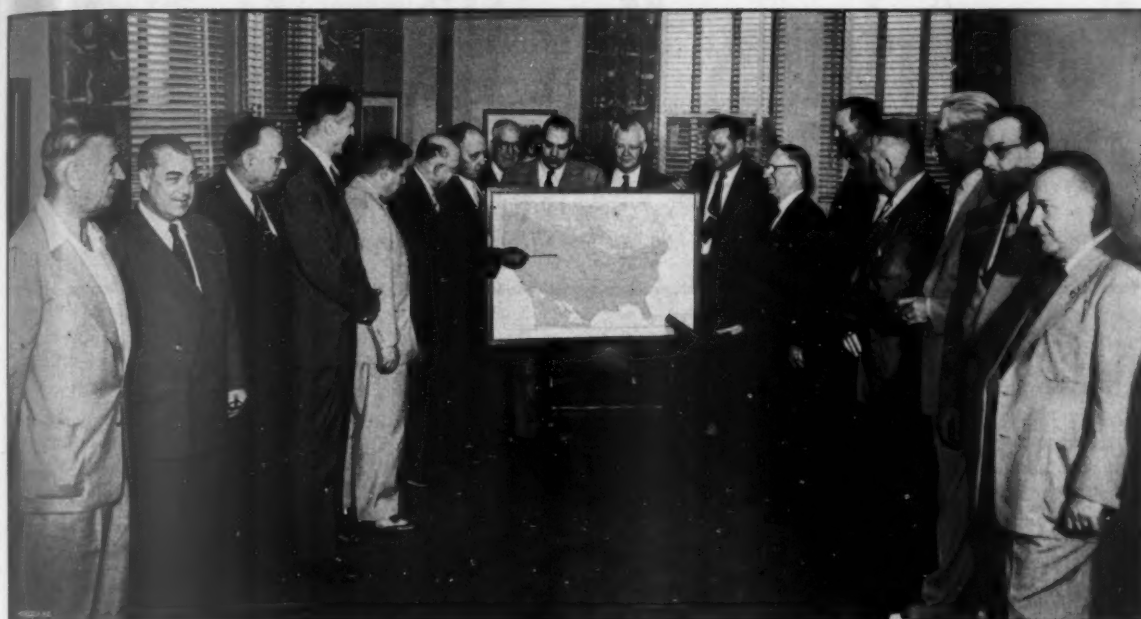
The A. F. of L.'s president emphasized that in only five states do municipalities now have the legal authority to establish local rent controls. Since very few of the state

legislatures are now in session, there is little or no chance that communities now under federal rent controls can obtain the necessary state authority before July 31 to replace federal rent control with local controls.

"This means that in most communities continuance of any rent controls after July 31 will depend upon Congressional action to extend the federal program," Mr. Meany said.

The American Federation of Labor has recommended to Congress that federal rent controls should be extended until June 30 of next year.

"There is still a chance of securing from Congress an extension of federal rent control authority," Mr. Meany asserted. "This is our last chance to try to do it."



Top organizers at headquarters with President Meany, Secretary Schnitzler and Director O'Reilly

ORGANIZING SETUP IS REVISED

NEW and improved machinery for the organizing activities of the American Federation of Labor was established at a two-day conference in A. F. of L. headquarters presided over by President George Meany and Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler.

Under the revised setup, there will be fourteen organizing regions in the United States and another in Canada. Each will be in charge of a regional director who will be given responsibility for the organizers in his area.

In a talk to the regional directors, President Meany emphasized that the primary aim of the American Federation of Labor is to organize the unorganized. The A. F. of L.'s organizers, he said, will be required to render assistance to national and international unions in their organizing work, as well as to organize federal labor unions and service them.

Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler declared that the revised regional setup should prove a spur to new organizational gains and provide a coordinated approach to the big problem of signing up new members in new industries. He pledged that the regional directors would have real author-

ity to run organizing activities within their areas and to intensify organizing campaigns.

Harry E. O'Reilly, national director of organization, pointed out that the changes were for the most part the outgrowth of experience in the field and suggested by the organizers themselves.

Under the new plan, the regional directors will submit all applications for new charters to American Federation of Labor headquarters, instead of having such applications trickle in from individual organizers all over the country.

The regional directors also will be required to submit progress reports to headquarters every four months. These will include data on paid-up membership from each region and each state.

The new organization regions and their chiefs were designated as follows:

No. 1—William Collins, director. New York and New Jersey.

No. 2—Michael J. Walsh, director. Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Vermont, New Hampshire and Maine.

No. 3—(Director to be named).

Virginia, Maryland, District of Columbia and Delaware.

No. 4—Henry McFarland, director. Pennsylvania and West Virginia.

No. 5—Jesse Gallagher, director. Ohio and Kentucky.

No. 6—J. L. Rhodes, director. Tennessee, North Carolina, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina and Florida.

No. 7—John Shrier, director. Michigan.

No. 8—Hugh Gormley, director. Indiana.

No. 9—Charles Heymanns, director. Wisconsin.

No. 10—L. J. Wadsworth, director. Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, Nebraska and Kansas.

No. 11—Lester Graham, director. Arkansas, Oklahoma and Texas.

No. 12—Harold Seavey, director. Minnesota, North Dakota and South Dakota.

No. 13—S. W. Johnson, director. Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Arizona and New Mexico.

No. 14—Dan Flanagan, director. California, Nevada, Oregon, Washington and Alaska.

No. 15—Russell Harvey, director. Canada from coast to coast.

New Orleans Has What It Takes

By **ROBERT L. SOULE**

Secretary-Treasurer, Central Trades and Labor Council of New Orleans and Vicinity

NEW ORLEANS, always the colorful Crescent City, is now making spectacular strides toward becoming one of the nation's principal industrial centers. Keeping pace with this tremendous development are the strong and progressive local unions of the American Federation of Labor.

The exciting metropolis on the Mississippi was always a strong building trades town. Now the expansion of industry and business in New Orleans is offering unlimited opportunities to all types of union organization. The population of the New Orleans metropolitan area has skyrocketed to a figure in excess of 700,000. New Orleans is a city of vibrant labor unions and good labor-management relations.

There are now more than 100 local unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Conservative estimates place total membership at between 75,000 and 100,000 men and women.

The A. F. of L. unions of New Orleans are celebrated for the intelligent and forthright part they play in community life. They are respected for their economic contributions to the city and the area.

The New Orleans labor movement has made resounding gains during the last eighteen months. Many new unions were chartered. And a careful survey revealed that the organizations already in existence enjoyed substantial increases in membership.

New unions chartered during the past year include Aluminum Workers, Local 24-864, which is the new local at Kaiser, New Orleans; Operative Potters, Local 220; Practical Nurses; American Federation of Technical Engineers, Local 148; and the Banana Handlers, Local 1800.

Substantial wage increases were won in 1952 by almost all New Orleans unions. On May 1 of last year all building trades affiliates gained

increases of 10 to 20 per cent. The Aluminum Workers negotiated a satisfactory contract with agreeable wage figures. The printing trades negotiated a contract for substantial increases during the latter part of 1952. Unions of the metal trades received a 15 per cent increase at the beginning of 1952.

Negotiations for 1953 wage increases were under way at the time this article was written, but not successfully completed in time to be included in the report.

The A. F. of L. movement of New Orleans has applied itself to the achievement of important advances. The building trades have in operation a highly successful apprenticeship training program, which has set an example for such programs. The Aluminum Workers won a key election over the C.I.O. at Kaiser's New Orleans operation. The victory of

the Aluminum Workers was by a substantial majority.

Numerous A. F. of L. organizations have in effect important programs on apprenticeship, education, political activity and civic participation.

With unionism an integral part of New Orleans community life, the attitude of organized labor toward community participation is highly cooperative. Every local union takes part, in one way or another, in the many worthwhile community endeavors that are good for New Orleans.

Civic, governmental, charitable, social and religious organizations seek the advice and assistance of our members and our leaders. Symbolic of the high esteem in which the American Federation of Labor is held is the fact that Brother A. P. Harvey, president of the central body, has been named to two outstanding committees, the City Charter Planning Com-



The author is at left. Second from the right is Mayor Morrison. He's flanked by top labor men, E. H. Williams and Fred Kreger

mittee and the United Fund Committee. New Orleans accepts and seeks labor as a partner in its present progress.

With the terrific expansion of industry, New Orleans now has *everything*. It used to be that we had the port, the climate, the geographical position and the trade market; now we also have *industry*. Hundreds of millions of dollars have been invested in new industry in New Orleans during the past two and one-half years.

Major industries are crowding into New Orleans. During 1952 such

mammoth industrial organizations as Kaiser, International Harvester, American Cynamid, Lion Oil Company, a match factory and an oil refinery established themselves in the city. Construction work was at what seemed to be an all-time peak. The Union Station, overpasses and underpasses, office buildings, apartment buildings, and a multitude of other projects became familiar and delightful sights to all who live and work in the Crescent City.

Payrolls have been popping. Purchasing power has increased. More

than 50,000 workers are employed at present in industry in the metropolitan area.

The New Orleans labor movement will continue strong. The attitude of employers is distinctly pro-union, and it should continue so. We are presently interested in organizing many new groups. Our hopes in this respect should materialize before 1953 is over. Meanwhile, labor in the vivid, historic Crescent City will continue to support and encourage programs for establishing good relations between management and labor.

THE FIRST WILLIAM GREEN SCHOOL OPENS



Principal of the William Green School is Mrs. Olga V. Pierce

THE FIRST PUBLIC SCHOOL named for William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor until his death last November, has opened its doors in Southern California. The new school was dedicated with an impressive program in its auditorium. The institution is at Lawndale.

Mrs. Olga V. Pierce, principal of the William Green School, welcomed the parents, teachers, civic leaders and trade union representatives who attended the dedication ceremonies. Hobson G. Denmark, a veteran member of the Boilermakers and a member of the School Board,

was responsible for having Lawndale name the school for the late president of the A. F. of L.

Thomas M. Randall represented President George Meany, Mr. Green's successor, at the dedication. Mr. Randall said the name chosen for the new school was most appropriate because of all that William Green and the A. F. of L. had done to promote good free schools.

Dr. Robert Zeigler, representing the Los Angeles Central Labor Council, was another speaker. He also emphasized the work of the A. F. of L. for free schools for all children.



Administrative Committee of L.L.P.E. holds a meeting. The author (light suit) is at the head table

One Dollar for Your Welfare

What Better Investment Can You Make?

By **JAMES L. McDEVITT**

Director, Labor's League for Political Education

UNION members give millions of dollars every year as contributions to many welfare programs like the March of Dimes and the Community Chest. They are all fine, worthy programs, but let us not forget to give a dollar this year to labor's own welfare fund. After all, charity begins at home.

One little dollar is all that each American Federation of Labor member is asked to give in order to join Labor's League for Political Education to enable us to elect Congressmen in 1954 who will look after our welfare.

Few of us realize how much we have to lose if we don't worry about our own welfare and support our friends for public office. Any union man making \$70 a week with a wife and two children can go to sleep easy at night knowing that if he dies, so-

cial security insurance will pay his family \$168.80 per month.

Yet the U.S. Chamber of Commerce has launched a campaign to wipe out the social security program and return to the county charity system. Senator Taft himself is the leading champion in Congress for wiping out social security. He told the March 14 meeting of the American Medical Association that, under President Roosevelt, social security was " * * * perhaps the greatest advance toward socialism." In its place he suggested "a minimum pension to everybody."

How do you save your social security insurance? Give a dollar to the L.L.P.E. 1953 campaign fund to elect your friends to Congress.

With a tiny staff of only 1,318 people for the whole country, the Department of Labor's Wage and Hour Division has been enforcing the mini-

mum wage and the overtime after 40 hours required in the Fair Labor Standards Act. This same staff enforces the minimum standards in all government contract work under the Walsh-Healey Act.

During the past year this Division investigated 41,860 establishments. Violations were discovered in 25,948 of them. Back pay worth \$15,663,912 was ordered for the short-changed employees, and thus far \$8,467,668 has actually been paid to them.

Yet with this record of open flouting of the legal minimum standards by thousands of employers, the House Appropriations Committee cut 21.4 per cent off the Division's budget. This is the old technique of strangling a good law by cutting out the funds needed to enforce it.

What can (Continued on Page 30)

Unwarranted Interference

WITH INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF UNIONS

By J. ALBERT WOLL, J. A. GLENN and HERBERT THATCHER

PRIOR to the enactment of the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947, interference with the internal affairs of labor organizations was held to a minimum. The Wagner Act did not authorize such interference, and the courts had for many years followed the policy of permitting and, in fact, virtually encouraging labor organizations, as well as all other voluntary associations, to conduct their internal affairs with the least possible interference from outside sources.

Only when the activities of an organization unjustly damaged other citizens or when its activities were violative of public law or public policy would the courts make exception to this rule.

This policy recognized that intrusion into the internal affairs of labor unions, when carried to extremes, could result in a totalitarian or state-controlled labor movement which in effect is no labor movement at all.

By leaving organizations of citizens to their own resources in setting up and managing their own voluntary associations, the public policy encouraged the development of resourcefulness and stimulated private initiative. This policy also recognized and protected the democratic principle of self-government by associations and labor organizations so long as their activities were not inconsistent with general law.

It is the purpose of this article to call attention to a few of the departures from this wholesome policy which have been brought about by enactment of the Taft-Hartley Act. Space does not permit a discussion of many of the incidental ways in which that act has interfered with the internal affairs of unions while ostensibly setting up limitations on unions' conduct as it relates to employers, to political activities or in numerous other ways. It is our purpose to call attention to a number of respects in which the act *directly* intrudes into

the internal affairs of labor organizations without serving any clear and recognized public end.

A labor organization, like fraternal organizations and other voluntary associations, may desire to stimulate attendance at meetings of the organization. This, in fact, may be highly essential to the welfare of the organization and necessary in order that it accomplish the greatest good for its membership.

Such an object is generally conducive to the development of democratic procedures and practices within the organization. It discourages any possible development of minority control or diversion of the organization from the beneficial objects it is intended to promote.

However, under the Taft-Hartley Act labor organizations are severely restricted in their efforts to increase attendance at meetings. This restriction is found in Sections 8(a)(3) and 8(b)(2). Under these provisions, if a union imposes a small fine on a member for failing to attend meetings which the member fails and refuses to pay, the union, while it may suspend or revoke membership, cannot call upon the employer to discharge the employee even under a union shop agreement.

The National Labor Relations Board has held by a three-member majority (Electric Auto-Lite Company of Toledo: January, 1951) that the Taft-Hartley Act permits discharges for loss of union membership under a maintenance of membership contract only when the loss of membership results from failure to pay "the periodic dues and initiation fees uniformly required" of all members of the union.

With respect to additional dues charged for failure to attend meetings, which the Board found to be, in effect, fines, the majority opinion said:

"The statute specifies that the

'periodic dues' be 'uniformly required.' This we read essentially to include the requirement that such dues be charged to all members alike and that any distinctions in amount be based upon reasonable general classifications. A charge which distinguishes between individual members who attend particular meetings and those who do not attend particular meetings, in our opinion, is not one 'uniformly' applied.

"We do not doubt that a member's attendance at a union meeting is highly desirable and salutary to carry out the democratic process. But, as we have already held, the act as written may not be used as a means of requiring such attendance. The act's machinery is equally unavailable to enforce the collection of a fine to accomplish this union objective."

Board Member Styles, in his dissenting opinion, favored what appears to be a more practical and reasonable interpretation of the act when he said:

"However the arrangement may be viewed, it is clear to me that it was accomplished by virtue of a dues increase and whatever may be the other restrictions of Section 8(a)(3) respecting the enforcement of union-security agreements, that section clearly places no limitations upon a union increasing its regular monthly dues. This the union has legally done in the present case.

"Nor does the act operate to restrict the common trade union practice of exonerating members from the payment of financial charges for particular reasons. And here the union's power to exonerate members from financial charges against them was specifically provided for in the international constitution. In fact, my colleagues concede that a proper increase in dues on the part of the union and the granting of a rebate to members who attend meetings would serve as a valid defense to the discharge.

L.L.P.E. NEEDS YOUR DOLLAR NOW

"This being so, it appears that the only thing the majority decision accomplishes is to require the union to undergo the needless burden and expense of installing and maintaining a detailed bookkeeping system and engaging in innumerable cash transactions. Thus, by collecting the \$2 before the monthly meetings and then returning the 50 cents to those who attended the meeting, the union would perhaps have made its purpose clearer, but the result would be the same as is now in effect."

The confusion resulting from this statutory incursion into the internal affairs of labor organizations is obvious and evidenced by the division of opinion within the Labor Board itself. Clearly, a union is not permitted to enforce the collection of the most moderate fine which it may impose for failure to attend meetings, by resort to action against the delinquent employee under the provisions of a union shop agreement. Thus, efforts of the union to improve attendance at meetings by effective measures are stymied.

RULINGS of the Board, as of the present time, do, however, indicate that while the union may not levy a fine for failure of members to attend meetings, it may increase the union dues, such increase to be applicable to all members regardless of attendance at meetings. Furthermore, a portion of dues may be remitted to those having satisfactory attendance records.

It is essential, however, that a union "make unmistakably clear to all concerned whether it is purposely increasing its dues rather than by indirect means adopting a procedure for levying fines which are outside the sanction of Section 8(a)(3)."

In short, the conflict in the opinions of the experts in the field strongly suggests that this entire subject would be simplified and better managed if the entire matter were left to the discretion of a majority of the union

membership acting under democratic procedures, rather than to the decision of outside agencies.

Another provision of the Taft-Hartley Act, Section 8(b)(5), forbids a union having a union shop contract from charging "a fee in an amount which the Board finds excessive or discriminatory under the circumstances." This, in effect, is a regulation against so-called excessive or discriminatory initiation fees.

In a decision rendered in April, 1951 (Ferro Stamping and Manufacturing Company), the National Labor Relations Board ruled unanimously that a union violated the act by charging an initiation fee of \$15 for "old" employees who had failed to join before the union shop contract took effect, while it charged "new" employees only \$5 for initiation.

The Board said "such a distinction in initiation fees, which is based on a prior exercise by an employee of his statutory right to refrain from joining a labor organization, is plainly discriminatory under the circumstances within the meaning of Section 8(b)(5)." This was the first occasion since passage of the Taft-Hartley Act four years earlier that the Board found a union in violation of the provision against excessive or discriminatory initiation fees.

A year later, in a case involving Lodge 504 of the International Association of Machinists, the Labor Board ruled that it was not illegal for a union to charge a higher fee for reinstating a former member than it charged as an initiation fee for those applying for membership for the first time. Again this decision was rendered by a three-member majority of the Board, which held that as long as the larger fee for reinstatement was not excessive within the meaning of the law, it was not illegal merely because it was higher than the first initiation fee. The Board dismissed the complaint against the union by a vote of 3 to 2.

At the same time, in another decision, the Board unanimously reaffirmed its earlier ruling that a union violates the law by charging a higher initiation fee for "old" employees, based on length of service before a legal union shop contract took effect. These hair-splitting distinctions between "old" employees and "old" members in the matter of initiation fees appear to be wholly unwarranted.

In another case the Board ruled that employees who lose their union membership because of failure to pay union dues on time may be lawfully discharged by their employer under a valid union shop contract. An employee cannot, with impunity, fail to pay or tender his dues within the time uniformly allowed by the union. A late offer to pay up delinquent dues before he was actually expelled from membership did not protect the employee from discharge under the act.

Whatever else might be said of these decisions, it is clear that this invasion into the internal affairs of voluntary associations called unions has resulted in confusion and uncertainties, and has been productive of no beneficial results. The Taft-Hartley Act has served to hamper and discourage the efforts of labor organizations to manage their affairs for the benefit of the members themselves.

INTERFERENCE in the internal affairs of unions is not by any means limited to meddling with matters of dues collection and the like. Under the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act [Sections 8(a)(3) and 8(b)(2)], a union cannot, even under a union shop or maintenance of membership agreement, cause or attempt to cause an employer to discharge or discriminate against an employee who seeks to destroy the union or impede its efforts to advance the welfare of the membership.

Union efforts to discipline recalcitrant elements are interfered with, even though a member has been given a full and fair trial by the union membership. And even though he be found guilty of disloyalty to the union, breach of his solemn obligations of membership, activities designed to disrupt peaceful bargaining relationships or activities aimed at the destruction of the union, he still cannot be removed from the job so long as he tenders periodic dues and initiation fees.

By these provisions the union is prevented from taking effective action against Communists, spies and troublemakers. Virtually all union discipline formerly obtained under the union shop is destroyed by the Taft-Hartley Act. Even though the union is often held responsible for the unauthorized conduct of its members, it is restricted and hampered when it attempts to correct abuses.

This is illustrated by the case of *Summet Line and Twine*, in which the N.L.R.B. ruled that a union may be held responsible for the actions of its officials "even though [it] has not specifically authorized or indeed may have specifically forbidden the act in question."

Provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act interfering with the efforts of unions to discipline members who have violated union laws established by the union's membership are wholly unwarranted. Courts have from early times been diligent to afford relief to individuals, if the union has acted arbitrarily or capriciously or denied a fair trial to the member involved.

When a union seeks in 1953 to negotiate a health and welfare plan for the benefit of the workers, it is confronted with a maze of restrictions and regulations limiting the efforts of the union to protect its members and their dependents. Such a plan must be negotiated under severe criminal penalties providing for fines up to \$10,000 and imprisonment up to one year, or both, for wilful violation of any of these restrictions.

EXPERIENCE has shown that these restrictive regulations are unwarranted and unnecessary. They limit the scope of possible benefits too rigidly. They unnecessarily require joint administration of the health and welfare plan, with participation by a neutral in the administration of the fund. They prevent the limitation of benefit payments to members only.

Furthermore, payment of benefits is limited to the employees of a particular employer participating in the fund and payments to other employees who may be transferred from place to place are not permitted. From experience under these limitations, it has been shown that the restrictions imposed constitute an unwarranted interference with the right of employees and employers freely to establish and maintain by mutual agreement health and welfare plans. They imply that the interested parties are either incompetent or dishonest. Such an implication against the particular parties involved in these transactions is arbitrary and groundless.

When a union is engaged in an organizational campaign, it is confronted with many limitations and regulations in matters which could more properly be left to the decision

of the membership of the union itself.

Professional employees cannot be included with non-professional employees unless a majority of the professional employees vote for inclusion in such a unit.

The union cannot include with other employees individuals employed as guards to enforce against employees and other persons rules to protect the property of the employer or to protect the safety of persons on the employer's premises.

Furthermore, no labor organization can be certified if it is affiliated directly or indirectly with an organization which admits to membership employees other than guards. This, according to Board rulings, prevents guards from belonging to an organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Confusion has resulted from this interference in many ways. For example, uncertainties have arisen with respect to the distinction between guards and watchmen. Ordinarily, if an employee spends more than half of his time doing the work of a guard, he is classified as a guard. Watchmen whose duties require the protection of company property are frequently ruled to be guards, regardless of whether they are armed or unarmed, or whether they have a particular uniform or not. In any event, no compensating benefit is discernible from this intrusion into the internal organizational affairs of unions.

Even the efforts of a labor organization and employer to engage in free and untrammelled collective bargaining are restricted by unnecessary and undesirable provisions. In this connection, precise and rigid procedures are required when it is desired to terminate or modify a collective bargaining agreement. Various written notices must be served, within fixed periods of time, containing specific information set forth in the law and directed to particular parties or public boards.

Complex and rigid requirements in these respects have resulted in conflict of opinion and uncertainty as to the exact requirements of the act and its application to varying conditions arising in collective bargaining. These provisions have not in any way facilitated collective bargaining, nor have they resulted in any other benefit. They have at times hampered bargaining efforts and have contributed

to unnecessary, costly and destructive litigation.

Efforts of unions to organize foremen were nipped in the bud by changes made in the definition of "employee" under the act. Supervisors and persons having the status of an independent contractor were excluded. These exclusions opened up a Pandora's box of uncertainties and conflicting opinions. They resulted in many workers being denied the benefits of collective bargaining. They led to disputes and stimulated litigation.

Nowhere can be found any sound, practical reason for denying supervisors generally the benefits of organization and the same is true of large groups of so-called independent contractors, especially in the trucking industry, where the International Brotherhood of Teamsters has fought continually to bring to all workers the benefits of organization.

Ill-advised legislation, sponsored by legislators who are often inadequately informed with respect to the subject of labor relations, frequently results in statutes which unnecessarily interfere with the internal affairs of labor organizations. Many provisions of such statutes do nothing more than cause annoyance to organizations and result in disruption of customary, tested and fair procedures.

These statutes, and supplemental regulations often permitted, usually are replete with formal requirements and detailed provisions which are impractical and ineffective to produce any beneficial result. Such requirements absorb much time and effort on the part of both employers and union officials and frequently encourage bickering and litigation.

It would be impossible to discuss in this article the innumerable ways in which the internal affairs of organizations are affected by laws relating to the activities of organizations as they impinge upon the rights of non-members, employers and other groups. We must forego discussion of these broad subjects.

Nevertheless, it is clear that a great need exists for simplification of labor laws and elimination of useless restrictions, with full recognition of the intrinsic value to be found in the maxim that the membership of a voluntary association is best able to conduct its internal affairs, free from unwarranted interference.

EDITORIALS

by George Meany

Danger From Within

SOME PEOPLE are so frightened about Communist infiltration that they pay no attention to the danger of fighting it by un-American methods."

That warning was sounded by William C. Martin, president of the National Council of Churches, which represents thirty Protestant denominations with 35,000,000 members. The Council appointed a special committee to "help churches recognize any threat of Communist infiltration into American life" and, at the same time, to help guard against "pinning a Communist label on social liberals and advocates of reform."

The same problem was discussed even more emphatically in a recent address by William O. Douglas, Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court. He said: "Today fear eats at the hearts of men until even old neighbors suspect one another." He charged that "we deprive men of jobs and destroy their reputations by callous practices." Among these he mentioned the methods by which Congressional committees and government executives "convict" people who are not even permitted to "know the identity of the persons who accuse them." The distinguished jurist warned that to our friends abroad "the United States seems alarmed, confused and intolerant."

And again, at the recent convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union in Chicago, the delegates adopted a declaration that "American democracy is strong enough to meet the Communist peril in a manner that does not do violence to our ideals and traditions."

Senator Stuart Symington, a member of the

Senate Investigating Committee, said in a commencement address at Radcliffe College that "there is no place in our democracy for a Grand Inquisitor." He expressed concern about the "recklessness of some of those engaged in the search for Communists and Communist influence" and warned of the danger of "a reign of terror in our own country."

These are only a few of the individuals and organizations that have had the courage to speak out in recent weeks against the creeping hysteria which has afflicted the American way of life.

Anyone who lives and works in Washington is bound to be depressed and alarmed by the sensation-mongering, the irresponsibility and the bullying that accompany current Congressional loyalty investigations. Government investigators are going to such ridiculous and fantastic lengths in security checks that good men are discouraged from entering public service. Fear and intimidation are practiced not only against individuals but against government departments.

The "witch hunt" spirit radiating from the nation's capital has had widespread effects, such as a proposal by city officials in San Antonio, Texas, to destroy public library books by authors suspected of Communist leanings or to brand them by special stamps—among the books so listed being "The Theory of Relativity" by Albert Einstein and Louis Untermeyer's "Treasury of American and British Poetry."

The American Federation of Labor fought and exposed communism for many long years before Congress paid any attention to this menace. We have no sympathy with Communists. Neither are we afraid of them.

There is much more to fear, in our considered opinion, from the subversion of American principles of justice and fair play by those who seek political aggrandizement by inciting public hysteria.

Those in authority in our nation who disapprove of un-American methods should repudiate those methods publicly and completely, before the American people and the friends of the American people abroad become misled by the opportunists and the demagogues.

The House Rules Committee has approved a study looking toward the adoption of a uniform code for the fair conduct of Congressional investigations. Senator Wayne Morse has introduced a resolution with the same objective. These are moves in the right direction.

Labor in the World Crisis

THE THIRD World Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions convenes next month in Stockholm, Sweden. Representatives of 54,000,000 workers from seventy-three countries will get together solidly in support of programs to strengthen the free world and to arrest the Communist menace to peace and to human rights.

In the years ahead the welfare of American workers will be increasingly affected by world conditions. Unless we can make world peace secure, emergency conditions will continue and the economic and social progress of our people will be retarded.

The American Federation of Labor, therefore, will take an active part in the deliberations of the I.C.F.T.U. Our delegation to the Stockholm conference will be headed by four members of the Executive Council.

The purposes of the I.C.F.T.U. are clear and unchallengeable. It seeks an ever-rising standard of living for working people everywhere. It is dedicated to promote world peace without appeasement. It is marshaling the united support of the free trade union movement to establish and strengthen free trade unions as a deterrent to the spread of totalitarianism, whether Communist or Fascist. It gives its support to colonial peoples in their struggle for independence and self-determination.

The broadened activity and influence of the free trade union movement in international affairs is highly significant and constructive. Short of outright aggression, the Communists can extend their sphere of influence only by infiltrating and subverting the labor organizations of the free nations. Defensively the I.C.F.T.U. can thwart such strategy by keeping on guard against boring-from-within tactics. Offensively the I.C.F.T.U. can help to free workers from Communist control on both sides of the Iron Curtain by conducting a vigorous campaign of exposure of the Kremlin's propaganda lies and hypocritical policies.

We hope for solid achievements from the Stockholm conference of the I.C.F.T.U.

Uncle Sam's Stepchild

THE ANTI-LABOR bloc in Congress has discovered there is more than one way to skin a cat. Knowing that any direct move to repeal the laws protecting labor standards would be unpopular and politically dangerous, this group has hit upon the expedient of nullifying those laws by starving out their enforcement through wholesale cuts in the budget of the Department of Labor.

This is "economy," the self-righteous lawmakers maintain. How can the people object when measures are taken to reduce the costs of government?

It is up to the representatives of labor to expose this flimsy and specious camouflage. They can do it most effectively with the facts. Here they are:

(1) The Department of Labor is the smallest department in the Federal Government. Its staff comprises only 5,900 persons to cover the entire country. The next smallest department in the government has 30,000 employees. Indeed, a number of single bureaus in several government departments have more employees than the whole Department of Labor.

(2) The "economies" effected by the House of Representatives in voting an over-all eleven per cent reduction in the Department of Labor's budget represent only a microscopic fraction of one per cent of the total cost of government.

(3) These cuts will cost the government far more money in the long run, because they cripple enforcement of laws regulating work done for the

government, allowing contractors and suppliers to cheat Uncle Sam and to chisel on American workers without fear of retribution.

(4) The House voted a 40 per cent cut in the number of employees in the office of the Solicitor for the Department of Labor. This office enforces the provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act, which provides for minimum wages and maximum hours and forbids child labor. The same office enforces the provisions of the Walsh-Healey Act, which guards labor standards in the production of goods purchased by the government. It also enforces the Bacon-Davis Act, which provides fair standards for construction work ordered by the government. How can the Solicitor's office do an effective job when its staff is so badly crippled?

(5) The industrial safety program of the Bureau of Labor Standards has been slashed by 50 per cent. This is another indefensible example of false economy. The purpose of this program is to save life and limb by eliminating industrial hazards and teaching basic rules of safety. It has achieved remarkable success in cutting down the

number of deaths and injuries on factory jobs. Are we so callous as to save a few dollars at the expense of killing and maiming the workers of our country?

(6) The program for protecting veterans' re-employment rights has been reduced fifteen per cent. Is this the way to carry out our pledges to the young men of our nation who have been drafted to serve in the armed forces in defense of the American way of life?

All in all, there is no sound justification for the Labor Department budget cuts voted by the House of Representatives. The taxpayers will gain no appreciable benefits. The government and the nation's workers will lose much more than the minor savings effected. The only beneficiaries would be crooked and cheating contractors who would be relieved of the fear of law enforcement. Decent employers would have to face cutthroat competition from such sources.

Let us make a strong and united fight to prevail upon Congress to restore the full appropriations needed for the operation of the Department of Labor.

When Will Congress Amend Taft-Hartley Act?

THE RIGHT TIME WOULD BE NOW, GEORGE MEANY DECLARES

THERE may be some action at next year's session of Congress on revision of the one-sided Taft-Hartley Act. Reports that the Administration may soon present its T-H amendment recommendations came after George Meany, president of the American Federation of Labor, accused Republican Congressional leaders of trying to repudiate President Eisenhower's major pledge on labor-management legislation. However, there is believed to be only a very slight chance that Congress will approve any changes in the statute in the short time remaining before this year's session adjourns.

The statement by Mr. Meany followed a widely published news agency story quoting Senator H. Alexander Smith, chairman of the Senate Labor Committee, as saying that Republican leaders had agreed to put off any revision of the Taft-Hartley Act until next year. The story said

Senator Smith and Senator Robert A. Taft agreed there was "no imperative necessity" to push a revision bill through this year.

"It appears that Senator Smith has heard only what management wants," Mr. Meany declared. "He has deliberately ignored the unanimous demands of trade union representatives for immediate and thorough revision of a law which is viciously unfair to the workers of this country."

"Is President Eisenhower going to keep his pledge to labor? We do not feel that he has carried out his responsibility in this vital matter by a mere recommendation to Congress that has not been followed up by specific legislative proposals."

"The working people of this country have a right to expect action on this issue this year from President Eisenhower and Congress."

In his statement, which was issued on June 5, Mr. Meany also said:

"Republican leaders in Congress are now trying to repudiate President Eisenhower's major pledge to labor—prompt revision of the Taft-Hartley Act to make the law merit 'the respect and support of labor and management.'"

"While the President urged such action in his State of the Union message more than four months ago, Senator Smith announced today that he and Senator Taft had agreed there is 'no imperative necessity' for action this year."

On February 3, in his State of the Union address, President Eisenhower said:

"We have now had five years' experience with the Labor-Management Act of 1947, commonly known as the Taft-Hartley Act."

"That experience has shown the need for some corrective action, and we should promptly proceed to amend that act."

Adequate Civil Defense Funds Urged

THE Labor Advisory Committee of the Federal Civil Defense Administration has called upon Congress and state and municipal authorities to act quickly to provide an adequate civil defense program for the nation.

Meeting at the Civil Defense Training Center, Olney, Maryland, the Advisory Committee appealed to legislative bodies on all levels—federal, state and local—to give increased attention to civil defense.

George Richardson, secretary-treasurer of the International Association of Fire Fighters and a member of the Labor Advisory Committee, spoke approvingly of the establishment of an Industry Advisory Committee.

Mr. Richardson urged Congress to "change the trend of reductions in appropriations" for civil defense. He appealed to the lawmakers to vote an adequate civil defense budget.

"Otherwise civil defense in this country might just as well be relegated to the scrap pile," he warned.

A. F. of L. Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler was present at the Olney session. He has been taking an active interest in civil defense problems. Recently he and Mr. Richardson attended Nevada atomic tests.



A. F. of L.'s Secretary William Schnitzler (seated, center) and other leaders of labor at the Civil Defense Training Center.

A Hundred Pounds on a Child's Back

EMPLOYMENT of children and women in the coal mining industry of Colombia, extremely low wages and abominable working conditions were spotlighted recently by the Union of Colombian Workers, an affiliate of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. The union has taken the lead in the fight to defend the exploited and abused mine workers of both sexes and all ages.

Boys and girls of tender years are used in the mines as coal carriers. Through narrow tunnels they carry heavy sacks of coal on their backs from the coal pit to the surface. Their pay for a hard, health-wrecking day's work is one Colombian peso, which is equivalent to forty U. S. cents.

The children's loads average 100 pounds and, as the Union of Colombian Workers has reported, the little boys and girls soon become victims

of hernia, "which debilitates them for the rest of their lives." In the accompanying photo are seen two of the mine children as they emerge from the pit with heavy sacks on their backs. The children are Abelardo Penagos, 12, and Enrique Romero, 13.

Children and women in the mining industry are also used "for the transportation of heavy crates of materials down in the tunnels," the union reports.

Here are other statements from the report:

"The workers employed under the piece-rate system often work fifteen to twenty hours a day. * * * Thousands of coal miners of Cundinamarca, especially in the regions of Guacheta and Nemocon, have the lowest social and economic standards existing in the country. * * * The workers com-

plain of unsanitary conditions, poor food and uncontrolled use of alcoholic beverages. These conditions have favored the spread of tuberculosis, with a high percentage of mortality."

Work of mules is assigned to children in Colombian mines



Prejudice HURTS the Working Man

By HENRY J. BRIDES

President, Massachusetts Federation of Labor

LABOR unions do not exist in a social vacuum. They live only as part of the community, as part of the social organism. The recent war demonstrated with tragic effectiveness that free organizations of working people can exist only in a free and democratic atmosphere.

We are interested in keeping our society free and democratic, for freedom is the only medium in which labor can live. And we must recognize that in fighting discrimination we make our society freer. It is no mere coincidence that wherever discrimination is strongest, there unions are weakest.

One of the basic principles of good unionism is unity. Without unity there can be no cooperative action. And without cooperative action there can be no union. And yet, how many of us are actively aware that discrimination makes unity impossible and that therefore discrimination is a menace to unionism? In a community where intolerance prevails, it

is impossible to organize a strong union.

The combination of no union and employer exploitation of group antagonisms inevitably keeps wages low and makes that community a direct threat to every union in every industry in that area. It makes sense, then, for every union, for its own protection, to seek out discrimination and fight it wherever it exists.

It is well to remember, too, that we do not create intolerance by exposing it to the light of day any more than we create a cancer by discovering its existence. The evil is there and, like the malignant cancer, is most dangerous when ignored and allowed to spread unchecked.

It is unrealistic to think that workers, by the simple act of joining a union, shed themselves of the prejudices of their communities. In periods of economic stress, in periods of widespread layoffs, when unions are put to their severest tests, when unity is essential as never before, employers

are skillful at ferreting out the existing prejudices and playing group against group, thereby undermining the unity of the membership and destroying the union's effectiveness.

It is unrealistic for unions not to protect themselves against these situations and vicious employer tactics. It does make practical sense for unions to institute educational programs among their own membership to combat intolerance. It makes practical sense for unions to educate their members to the fact that discrimination has a bad effect on their own pocketbooks.

In the not-so-distant past organized labor was much too busy for politics. We scoffed at those who urged us to greater political action. But we have learned that we cannot ignore or neglect political action.

And now we must learn that eliminating intolerance is also of immediate concern, that intolerance is not something only indirectly related to the welfare of working people.

Apprenticeship Parley Nears

LEADING representatives of labor and management will converge on San Diego in a few weeks for the North American Conference on Apprenticeship. The week-long conference will open August 2. It will attract an estimated 2,500 delegates to the Southern California city.

Outstanding labor figures who have indicated they will be present include James A. Brownlow, president of the Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor; Richard J. Gray, president of the A. F. of L.'s Building and Construction Trades Department, and Gabriel Rousseau of the Quebec Department of Labor.

C. J. Haggerty, secretary-treasurer of the California State Federation of Labor and a member of the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship, will have an important place on the program of the conference.



San Diego labor is playing key role in conference preparations. Seated at right is John Quimby of A. F. of L.'s central body

BALTIMORE EMPHASIZES EDUCATION

*Students and members of the
general public, as well as the
men and women with union cards,
are being taught about labor*

By **LARKIN H. BIRMINGHAM** and **EDWARD H. JOHNS**

President and Secretary, Respectively, Baltimore Federation of Labor

DURING the past two years great strides have been made by the Baltimore Federation of Labor. Two years ago the Baltimore central body was composed of 102 affiliated unions. By April of 1953 the list of affiliates had grown to 124.

It is not only the membership that has grown. In 1951 the meetings of the central body were sparsely attended, while at the present time attendance at the meetings has more than doubled.

This improvement is due to the work of the officers and the committees of the Federation. Particular credit must be given to the Education Committee and its programs. This committee is large in number and so has been divided into subcommittees, each having its own specific function.

It is the duty of one subcommittee to provide an interesting speaker for the third Wednesday of each month. Another subcommittee provides filmstrips and movies on the first Wednesday of each month. Other subcommittees work with the Baltimore Department of Education in setting up adult education courses, with the local unions in developing educational programs within the locals, and one subcommittee is now in the process of formulating plans for the awarding of scholarships to deserving high school students.

However, the Education Committee is just one of the committees in the Baltimore Federation of Labor

whose work has stimulated interest in the central body. Upon recommendation of the Organization Committee, the Federation last year sponsored a Union Label Show during Union Label Week. This show proved to be quite interesting and certainly attracted many trade unionists as well as the general public.

We feel that as a result of this show of union labels, A. F. of L. members and the general public in Baltimore have become more aware of the union label, organized labor's trademark. This committee, too, is only a

link in the chain of B.F.L. activities.

One of the principal aims of the Baltimore Federation of Labor is to work for the passage of legislation favorable to labor and the defeat of legislation detrimental to labor. This is the function of the Legislative Committee through our legislative representative. It is highly important that this committee function properly and keep the members aware of the happenings in the Legislature.

In this field, the B.F.L. has been most successful. The Federation instructed its executive officer to devote full time to the 1953 session of the Maryland General Assembly. During that session, unemployment insurance and workmen's compensation laws were amended to provide increased benefits for the Maryland workers. Maryland is now one of the states leading in this field.

We can also point with pride to the fact that the "Right to Work" bill was defeated, as was the "Millionaires' Amendment." We also supported the State Department of Education in passing a bill providing salary increases for the teachers.

It was the practice of the executive officer of the Baltimore Federation of Labor to make weekly reports on the Legislature through several media. Weekly reports were given to the delegates at the meetings of the B.F.L. These reports were also published in the weekly B.F.L. newspaper. In addition, the executive secretary was featured on a radio pro-



MR. BIRMINGHAM

gram entitled "Labor Views the 1953 Session of the Maryland General Assembly."

Education on the part of the Baltimore Federation of Labor does not stop with making our members aware of current legislation, union labels and providing interesting programs. The Education Committee, the officers and the delegates to the B.F.L. have realized that there is a wide range for labor education of teachers, high school students and adults, unionists as well as non-unionists.

Therefore, the Education Committee set to work to establish a program in the Baltimore city schools. First the Federation received the recognition of the Baltimore Department of Education as being interested in the education of its youth by becoming active in the move to have cuts in the Department of Education's budget restored by the Board of Estimates. Having received this recognition, the Baltimore Federation of Labor let its voice be heard on other matters pertaining to the educational system of the city. Gradually friendly relationship was established between the representative of the B.F.L. and the superintendent of Baltimore public schools.

At the suggestion of the B.F.L. representative to the superintendent of schools, a committee was appointed to preview the film, "With These Hands," a documentary film portraying the struggles which faced the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union in its growth. This film was formally accepted on behalf of the Baltimore Department of Education by the late Dr. William H. Lemmel, superintendent of public schools, at a presentation luncheon given by the B.F.L. It was made a part of the high school curriculum.

Since that time we have been informed that this film is the most popular item in the Department of Education's film library. It is constantly in use and is well received by the students. At the present time arrangements are being made to present another copy of this film to the Baltimore Department of Education.

The next step was to have labor representatives address the student assemblies on labor's views concerning issues that affect American working people. Dr. Lemmel sent letters to the principals of the public high schools advising them that labor



MR. JOHNS

speakers were available for assemblies, history classes, etc.

Representatives of the American Federation of Labor and the C.I.O. have attended many of these assemblies and presented labor's views. They have also submitted to the questions of students and teachers as well, and have answered those questions intelligently and honestly.

It is evident that labor in Baltimore has made considerable headway in winning a place for labor's views in the schools. But the Baltimore Federation of Labor realizes that its job is not finished by any means. When we were asked to participate in the Business-Industry-Labor Education Workshop for teachers, we set about preparing a full agenda, including the showing of "With These Hands" and an address by the eminent labor speaker, Mark Starr, for the morning session that was granted us by the Department of Education.

The efforts put forth by the B.F.L. committee and representative proved fruitful because the morning allotted labor was hailed as the most interesting session of the entire workshop. This year labor will have an entire day devoted to presenting its views to the participating teachers—the instructors of today's children and tomorrow's citizens.

Our next accomplishment was the Labor Activities Workshop, part of the Community Study Program. The Community Study Program, set up

by Dr. Harry Bard, curriculum director of the Department of Education, helps broaden teachers' interests by putting them in direct contact with community life and institutions. Teachers have participated in workshops concerning government, housing, history, human relations and recreation in Baltimore. Teachers need teaching before they can impart attitudes and knowledge to students.

It was for this reason that after seven years of operation of the Community Study Program, a Labor Activities Workshop was authorized for the 1952-53 school year. At the request of Dr. Bard, two members of the Baltimore Teachers Union served as leaders or coordinators for the new workshop, and both worked throughout the year to give teachers an improved understanding of the organized labor movement. A representative of the B.F.L. and also the C.I.O. in this city acted as consultants and gave invaluable assistance in making the many contacts with labor officials and organizations.

Some twenty-seven teachers participated in this workshop and were taken to plants working under collective bargaining contracts, to union halls and offices, union meetings, contract negotiation sessions, etc. At the completion of the course, the participants agreed that more teachers should avail themselves of any further programs regarding labor.

One of the teachers, in evaluating the course, stated:

"With new and informative experiences has come a realization that such a study would be revealing to other teachers and inhabitants of the 'ivory towers.'"

In the meantime a committee from the B.F.L. and the Department of Education started formulating plans for labor courses in the evening schools. This took much time and hard work. Last October the first class was started in "Labor History" under the capable instruction of Mr. Emil Starr, a member of the American Federation of Teachers, Local 340.

This course was free to the citizens of Baltimore, and there were no bars as to race, creed, sex or color—this despite the segregated pattern of Baltimore's school system. Upwards of seventy-five students participated in the labor education classes, and each student was provided with the text, "Labor in (Continued on Page 28)

Rights for Federal Workers

By JAMES A. CAMPBELL

President, American Federation of Government Employees

THE value of satisfactory labor-management relations is well recognized and acknowledged as the basis for the successful operation of a commercial enterprise or a government agency. It is achieved when management and labor develop mutual confidence and combine their energies and abilities to make a particular venture a success.

The process of labor presenting its views as to the need for improvement of specific working conditions and of management considering such expressions to determine their feasibility has come to be known as collective bargaining.

It has been going on in this country for a century and a half. As the trade union movement developed, it received greater recognition by government and industry. Specific guarantees were written into federal and state laws to insure to all workers the right to self-organization and to collective bargaining through representatives of their own choosing.

Collective bargaining, as practiced in industry and as protected by federal statute, provides broad guarantees to persons in commercial employment.

It insures to them the right to join a union, to hold a job without fear of discrimination because of union affiliation, to present their requests for better wages and working conditions to their employer, and to protest conditions or actions by management as unfair or undesirable.

It also insures to them the right to leave their jobs and engage in a strike if their requests are not met or their protests are not acted upon favorably, to picket the employer's premises for the purpose of serving notice upon the public that he is not dealing fairly with his employees, to require him to bargain with their union in good faith and, having signed an agreement, to live up to its terms.

In addition, collective bargaining in private employment means that the employees have the right to charge their employer with illegal conduct before a federal or state tribunal and compel his compliance with the law.

These and many other rights have been conferred on employees in private industry. But employees of the same federal government that has written these guarantees into law have virtually none of these rights. They do not seek them all, but they do want the right to be represented by an organization of their own choosing in their dealings with officials of the executive branch of the government.

As compared with the numerous rights of employees in commercial employment, federal government workers are seeking only the right to choose a union to represent them and that such a union will be accorded legal recognition as their representative.

Pending in the present Congress is a bill (H.R. 644) sponsored by Congressman Withrow which provides specific recognition of the right of officers or representatives of federal employee organization to present grievances in behalf of their members "without restraint, coercion, interference, intimidation or reprisal."

The bill further requires administrative officers to confer with representatives of employee organizations on a variety of matters affecting working conditions.

Back in 1912, Congress enacted a law which recognized the right of employees of the federal government to present their grievances to Congress. It stipulated that civil service

employees shall not be denied the right to petition Congress.

That law is the Lloyd-LaFollette Act. It bears the names of two Republican members of Congress and it was later strengthened in a Democratic administration. This should make it a bi-partisan enactment.

The Withrow bill would amend the Lloyd-LaFollette Act.

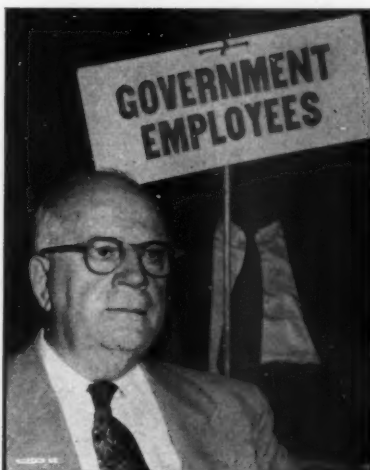
Why is this bill necessary? The Lloyd-LaFollette Act recognizes the right of civil service employees to present information to Congress, but it does not give the same legal status to unions to confer with federal management that federal law has granted to employees in commercial jobs.

The Withrow bill includes a provision that violation of its terms shall be reviewed by an impartial board of arbitration. This board would prescribe appropriate punitive action with respect to any official found to be in violation. The purpose of this provision is to make certain that the will of Congress would be fulfilled. Otherwise, Congress would provide a procedure and offer a guarantee of protection to the federal employee, but a recalcitrant federal official could flout the will of Congress without fear of any penalty.

The Withrow bill provides in a very limited degree the guarantee to federal civil service employees that Congress has granted to employees in industry. All we ask is that unions be given the right to represent their members in dealings with federal agencies and to be recognized by officials of the executive branch of the federal government as the spokesmen of their members.

We ask this not only as a matter of justice but also as a means of fostering better labor-management relations in the federal government. The government will profit, as private enterprise has, through the development of a cooperative interchange of ideas between employees and management.

It is a guarantee of an opportunity which federal workers seek—the opportunity for unions to contribute to a better civil service.



MR. CAMPBELL

George P. Delaney Says:

POVERTY IS THE ENEMY

FROM AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY THE U. S. WORKERS' DELEGATE AT
THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONFERENCE, NOW IN PROGRESS

I INTEND to present the views of the American workers on the important subject raised by Director-General Morse in his report on productivity. It calls our attention again to the problem of productivity and how best to promote it. The subject is always timely and never more so than today.

The path of higher productivity and the equitable distribution of its benefits is the main avenue along which we must move in pursuit of the goals to which this Organization is dedicated — peace, social justice and economic progress.

It pleases some to refer to these goals as Utopian, or visionary, or impossible of attainment. So they may be if we do not take them seriously—if we are here merely to give them our formal blessings, with no desire or intent to take the steps that are necessary to move us in their direction.

And they might also, with reason, be so regarded could we not find in history sufficient evidence on the side of hope, with so many milestones of achievement rising out of the rubble of failure.

The increasing concern which the International Labor Organization has shown for the promotion of higher productivity is a real encouragement to those of us who have confidence in the seriousness of its purpose and the eventual success of its ends. For it is the factor of increasing productivity which has brought some of us to a condition which, with all its faults, would have been regarded as Utopian or visionary or impossible of attainment not too long ago.

And as this factor of productivity has belied the bleak doctrines of Malthus in the past, so it can refute the foreboding of the pessimists among us today—if we but match the tools at our command with the will to use them properly.

Productivity does not grow in an economic and social vacuum, nor can its elements be neatly separated into compartments and categories. They are all in one package. The process of economic improvement is an endless chain of forces and events. No arbitrary point in that chain can be properly singled out as the prime cause or final end. Rising standards of life and labor, for example, are supported by improvements in productivity, yet it is equally true that they stimulate and give rise to further improvements in productivity.

The purely technical components of higher productivity are like a lifeless mechanism which depends upon external pressures and attractions to start and to keep it in motion. There must be forces present in the economy compelling the changes and improvements involved, and attractions which

will make those improvements economically worthwhile.

It is the presence or absence of these forces, pressures and opportunities which makes the difference between a dynamic, expanding economy and a stagnant economy, and not the presence or absence of any abstract body of technical or managerial talent, technique or "know-how."

If those forces are in operation, the pure skills and techniques necessary to the improvement of productivity will come in the normal course of events, because they will be demanded and because there will be opportunities for them. If those primary forces are missing, all of the efforts and exertions of the engineers and the experts will be wasted, for there will be nothing to sustain them.

This, at least, is the lesson of the American experience. I believe that



George P. Delaney (left), A. F. of L. international representative, confers at parley in Geneva with Lee Minton, one of his advisers

the most constructive contribution that we, as a nation, can make to the advancement of a free and progressive world society lies in the broader application of this lesson—rather than in any rare and exclusive store of skills, techniques or methods that we may or may not possess.

The free trade union movement of America has been among the foremost of the forces which have served both to compel and sustain consistent social progress in an expanding economy. The vital necessity for assuring that increases in productivity are promptly translated into higher real incomes has been a historic concern of the American labor movement.

By maintaining a constant upward pressure on wage levels, our trade unions have forced employers to make those improvements in methods, techniques and equipment which lead to higher productivity, in order to hold down unit labor costs and to maintain profits.

Higher wages, in turn, have served to increase the level of consumer demand, upon which production and employment depend.

The pressure of wage costs and the attraction of broadly based consumer demand have been among the most important of the dynamic forces which have served to promote, to stimulate and to justify the increasing productivity of American industry. Improved methods and tech-

niques, which some appear to regard as the complete explanation for productivity gains, came not as the cause but as the natural consequence of these pressures and attractions.

These improvements have come, in large part, because labor in America has not been willing to subsidize or reward managerial incompetence or inertia by remaining content with a low and static wage level. We have no quarrel with profits as such or with the generous incomes earned by management where those profits and incomes are earned by performance, with workers sharing fully in the proceeds of progress.

But we do strongly object to those profits and incomes which are pressed out of the sweat of other men's bodies, through the maintenance of substandard wages and conditions of work. On such profits we have waged and shall continue to wage relentless economic warfare.

In the final analysis, it is poverty which is the natural enemy of man and not the existence of wealth as such. The accumulation of wealth is detrimental to progress only where it is extracted from the hides of the helpless poor. In these cases, redistribution is indeed an appropriate remedy as a matter of national policy. But it can never take the place of measures to promote higher productivity.

When the day arrives that we are

all prepared to devote our combined resources, energy and ingenuity to a sustained war against poverty and oppression, the goals of the International Labor Organization will be within our reach. Our understanding of and control over the factors and forces which serve to bring about the improvement of productivity, and the distribution of its benefits to all, hold the key to the success of such an effort.

The time will come when the world will realize that the persistence of poverty and injustice is as much a danger to a free society as a hostile military array. We can only pray that it will not come too late.

To those who shrink from the effort and expense required to eliminate these evils, for fear that it will impose too heavy a tax upon them, I say that the consequences of their neglect will impose a yet more deadly tax.

It is fashionable in some quarters to decry plans or designs for the future betterment of the human race. But unless we have a design, we cannot build; and unless we build, we cannot survive.

Even if our ideals could never be fully realized, we would be better off for having pursued them. The more vigorously and faithfully we carry out this pursuit, the closer will be our ultimate approach to the goals to which this Organization is dedicated.

The Executive Council Meets

(Continued from Page 7)

per cent, is a surrender to the greed of money-lenders.

"The third backward step is the recent act of the House of Representatives eliminating funds for the low-rent public housing and slum clearance program. The minimum program set by the Housing Act of 1949 is the construction of 135,000 low-rent housing units each year by local housing authorities with federal aid. This is necessary to meet the goal of bringing good housing within the reach of families of all incomes. Congress must not abandon this necessary goal.

"Unless the Senate decision to maintain a token program of 35,000 units a year recommended by the Administration prevails, the public housing and slum clearance program will be completely wiped out.

"These three backward steps are of concern to every citizen. They are of special concern to workers. Of every dollar that the average worker earns, thirty-two cents goes for the purchase of rental and upkeep of his home.

"Adequate housing at a reasonable cost is a must for every worker's family. The time of high employment and high economic activity is the time to move forward toward meeting the nation's most pressing housing needs. It is not the time for retreat."

The Executive Council unanimously supported the protests of President James C. Petrillo of the American Federation of Musicians against the use of military service bands in unfair competition with civilian musicians.

The Council pointed out that such

competition is "in direct violation of federal laws and regulations." It noted that four laws forbid armed services bands from furnishing competition to civilian musicians.

"These statutes," the Council said, "have been implemented by detailed regulations, spelling out the occasions on which service bands may and may not be used. * * *

"Yet despite the seeming clarity and obvious fairness of these prohibitions, armed services bands are being used with increasing frequency on wholly unjustified occasions. * * *

"We commend the appropriate use of service bands on appropriate public occasions. But we vigorously protest the violation of explicit statutes, the disregard of clear regulations and the indefensible abuse of the economic rights of professional musicians."

The next meeting of the Executive Council will open on August 10.

BUILDING INDUSTRY APPRENTICESHIP TRENDS

By W. F. PATTERSON

*Director, Bureau of Apprenticeship,
United States Department of Labor*

FROM 1948 until October 1, 1952, all of the building trades suffered a decline in the number of apprentices in training. Up until the outbreak of the Korean conflict, in midsummer of 1950, this decline in the number of apprentices was not considered alarming or even significant. This was because approximately 15,000 apprentices were being completed into full-fledged journeymen each year through apprentice training programs operating within the building industry.

In the period following the Korean outbreak, however, apprenticeship agencies had to devote major attention to those occupations that were critical to defense production. Owing to the fact that the construction industry had established such a history-making record in apprenticeship from 1946 on, none of these exceedingly important construction trades appeared on the list of critical trades in which we were in such short supply.

This is to the everlasting credit of the international unions in the construction field and to the contractor organizations.

I am afraid, however, that both labor and management, as a result of the outstanding record which they had made, were somewhat inclined to believe that the job in construction apprenticeship was so well over the hump that they could rest on their laurels for a while. The result was a decline in apprenticeship activities.

Fortunately, the leaders of inter-

national unions and contractors' associations are experiencing a reawakening of their apprenticeship responsibilities. Beginning with last summer, there has been more joint action taken than ever before and more telling blows have been delivered in behalf of apprenticeship in the construction industry. I cite a few examples of this renewed activity:

- The National Joint Electrical Apprenticeship and Training Committee, comprised of five representatives of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and five representatives of the National Electrical Contractors Association, met in September and agreed on a program of action. As a result, this National Joint Committee now employs a full-time director of apprenticeship, financed jointly by the union and the contractors.

- The Carpenters National Joint Apprenticeship Committee met in Washington in January and laid plans for a vigorous program in this exceedingly important construction trade. It is noteworthy that five representatives of the Associated General Contractors and five representatives of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners participated in this meeting.

- The Contracting Plasterers International Association, at its annual convention in Denver, devoted considerable time to discussion of plans for lifting apprenticeship in that industry to a new level. The Operative

Plasterers and Cement Masons International Association spotlighted apprenticeship at their national convention in Seattle.

- The pipe trades have likewise taken positive steps to insure a strong and adequate apprenticeship program. For example, the United Association of Journeymen and Apprentice of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry now has two men working in its national office to promote apprenticeship activities within the industry. The National Association of Master Plumbers and the Heating, Piping and Air Conditioning Contractors are promoting apprenticeship through their journals, conventions and a wide variety of other activities.

- The Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America has assigned a full-time man to promote apprenticeship within that industry.

- The Bricklayers International Union is giving strong support to apprenticeship activities in cooperation with employer groups and the Structural Clay Products Institute. Highlighting apprenticeship activities of the bricklaying trades was the recent national bricklayer apprentices' contest in Minneapolis, at which the outstanding bricklaying apprentice in the United States was selected. This contest was held in connection with the Union Label Industries Show of the American Federation of Labor.

- Perhaps one of the most outstanding evidences of true labor-man-

agement relations in the construction field exists in the fine work of the National Joint Sheet Metal Apprenticeship Committee. This committee, among its other activities, has set up a contest for the best and second-best local joint sheet metal apprenticeship committee.

• The National Roofing Joint Apprenticeship Committee has also been unusually active in promoting apprenticeship activities within that industry. This activity was reflected in the recent national convention of the Roofing Contractors Association.

Despite excellent apprenticeship planning on the part of national contractors and labor unions, this planning does not amount to a great deal unless it is put into practice by local groups. The key to successful apprenticeship is teamwork and concerted action among groups on the local level.

If local groups are interested and active, the program will be a success. Conversely, if they are indifferent and inactive, the program will reflect this attitude.

In some states it has been found that state joint apprenticeship committees in the construction industry are serving a worthwhile purpose in coordinating efforts directed at remedying soft spots and in giving joint drive and direction to the apprenticeship programs in those states.

A significant development at the national level is the improvement of our fact-finding procedures relating to the development of our skilled labor force.

Through cooperative arrangements with the state apprenticeship agencies, the Bureau of Apprenticeship is now able to provide national labor and management groups more comprehensive information concerning the National Apprenticeship Program than has heretofore been possible.

Another notable development is the marked increase in the practice of honoring those apprentices who complete their training. Completion ceremonies, which present a most effective public relations method of acquainting the public with the aims of apprenticeship, were held by a record number of joint labor-management committees.

Every effort should be made by those interested in apprenticeship to improve public relations for their respective programs.

The Public Employes' Trade Secretariat

By MARTIN BOLLE

Secretary-Treasurer, International Federation of Unions of Employes in Public and Civil Service

EVEN the most casual student of the international trade union movement knows that there is very little resemblance between the activities of the international trade union movement up to 1945 and the work and responsibilities of that movement as it has developed from 1945 onward—in particular after the creation in 1949 of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Developments in an ever-changing world and the growth of a clear conception of the place of the international trade union movement in this modern world have contributed to the fact that the I.C.F.T.U. is wider, not only in the number and range of its affiliations but also in the scope of its activities, than the international trade union movement as it existed and functioned up to the end of 1945.

For the first time in the history of the international trade union movement we now have in the I.C.F.T.U. a really worldwide organization. It is hardly necessary to say that when we use the term "worldwide," we exclude, of necessity, all countries which do not possess a free and democratic trade union movement.

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions has made astonishing progress and gained a considerable amount of authority in the international world.

As far as the international trade secretariats are concerned, many of them have grown from organizations mainly European in character to truly international bodies with affiliations in many parts of the world.

We may mention our own trade secretariat as an example of this de-

velopment. Since the war our secretariat has, for the first time in its history, affiliations outside Europe—namely, in North and South America, in Africa and in Asia, with the prospect of still further affiliations in various parts of the world.

In Europe, too, the number of our affiliated organizations is greater than it ever was before the war. In a few countries where a number of organizations are not yet affiliated, we are making a determined effort to persuade them to join our ranks.

This development is indeed a very encouraging one, not only because greater numerical strength adds to our prestige and gives us the physical possibility of doing a growing amount of useful work on behalf of our increasing membership, but also, and in particular, because at the same time, as in the case of the I.C.F.T.U., the scope of our work is considerably broadened.

THE international trade union movement is fully alive to the economic and political realities and necessities of our time. It realizes that it has to play its part in the building of what has often been termed our "one world."

The hard lessons of recent history have taught us that no single nation, and indeed no single part of the world, can hope to achieve and maintain prosperity and live in peace for any length of time when millions of people in other parts of the world are doomed to live in poverty, misery and oppression—even in a state of slavery. We know that a solution of the great and complicated social, economic and political problems

which face mankind in our day is impossible if conditions of social justice are not achieved for men of all races and all nationalities.

The workers of the world cannot be indifferent to these economic and political facts. That is why the free trade union movement has to play its part in the great general movement toward social justice and political security, creating conditions of well-being and security for all peoples.

I think that the fact of the rapidly growing importance and responsibilities of the free international trade union movement must present an inspiring spectacle to all trade unionists. It is true that trade unions all over the world still have their day-to-day responsibilities toward their own members, the primary duty of looking after the material and social welfare of those who belong to them. But, in addition to that, free trade unions everywhere now feel directly responsible for the welfare of workers in other parts of the world.

They wish to help in establishing conditions of peace and prosperity for all peoples. They realize that their task is not completed when they have looked after the welfare of their own members in their own countries or in their own industries. They know

that they have an equal responsibility, which they cannot shirk, toward workers in other countries, that they have to help workers in underdeveloped or backward areas to improve their lot and progressively to achieve decent living conditions and social justice. They know that their own welfare is inseparably bound up with that of workers elsewhere.

That is why the international trade union movement preaches the gospel of international solidarity. That is why it supports all action on the part of governments and other bodies which is calculated to promote political and economic cooperation on an international or, indeed, worldwide scale.

Our international trade secretariat in its own limited field—which is still wide enough—of the public services and public utilities has also extended its activities since resuming them toward the end of 1945.

Our membership has grown constantly, and we shall continue our efforts to obtain the affiliation of an ever-increasing number of organizations of public employes in all parts of the world. Thus we intend to make our contribution to the extended activities of the international trade union movement, both in our

relations with intergovernmental organizations such as the International Labor Organization and with unions of public employes in other parts of the world, in particular in a number of underdeveloped countries, where they stand in need of our encouragement and assistance. In all this we shall work closely with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and accept its leadership.

The decisions of our Executive Committee bear witness to the fact that we are determined to play our part in the international trade union field. We are assisting unions in European countries that need our help in strengthening their position and in fighting totalitarian influences in their countries. We are also examining seriously all practical possibilities of rendering effective help to unions in other parts of the world. Finally, we have decided to support the I.C.F.T.U. in its regional work by contributing to its Regional Activities Fund.

By developing its activities and increasing its membership, the International Federation of Unions of Employes in Public and Civil Service is doing a very useful and necessary job and will, I am convinced, continue to grow from strength to strength.

Baltimore Emphasizes Education

(Continued from Page 22)

America," by Harold Faulkner and Mark Starr, as well as "Pioneers of Labor." A detailed outline of the course, along with an assigned supplemental reading list for each period of the history of American labor, was given to the student.

The fondest hopes of the instructor came true. Not only did the students take an avid interest in the texts, but excellent reports were given on some of the labor classics. Considerable interest was shown in this class not only by members of American Federation of Labor unions but also by members of other organized labor groups and civic groups. In fact, so much interest was shown that in February the course was started in another section of the city.

Also in February the course in "Labor and the Community" was started, also under the instruction of Mr. Starr. Resource people, such as a minister, a member of the Teachers

Union and a representative of the Urban League, were used to good advantage.

At the present time the committee is formulating plans for two new courses, "Labor Legislation" and "Labor Economics," to begin this fall.

Now, too, we are preparing for a one-day "Labor Conference" to be conducted at the University of Maryland. Representatives of the Baltimore Federation of Labor and the Washington Central Labor Union have been working together on this project.

Dr. H. C. Byrd, president of the University of Maryland, has cooperated to the fullest extent in assisting us in setting up this institute, the first of its kind ever to be held at the University of Maryland.

The film "With These Hands" has been previewed by the State Department of Education and, according to

Dr. Thomas Pullen, State Superintendent of Schools, it will be used in the high schools.

Now we shall cast our eyes upon other labor documentary films, etc., always being mindful of the fact that education is one of the most important phases of our work in these times. We must educate the trade unionists and the general public, teacher and student, and make them fully aware of labor's existence and labor's interest in the community and in the welfare of our educational system. Our Education Committee has not ceased its efforts, nor will it cease its efforts, to further the cause of unionism through education.

Our central body, its officers, committees and delegates realize that the child we teach today is our prospective union member of tomorrow, and we feel that a person acquainted with all phases of society is more capable of assuming his responsibilities as a citizen and more willing to contribute his share in the affairs of the American community.

LABOR NEWS BRIEFS

Local 32B, Building Service Employees, New York City, has won a wage increase for more than 400 members employed in Manhattan department stores. The increase is retroactive to February 1. Negotiations have also been concluded at Rockefeller Center, where an agreement was obtained providing weekly wage increases, an additional holiday and other benefits.

Minnesota Locals 1 and 2 of the Bricklayers in St. Paul and Minneapolis have secured a 7½-cent hourly increase in a new contract with the Associated General Contractors of Minnesota. The boost brings the base rate of Twin Cities bricklayers to \$3.12 an hour.

Local 639A of the Retail Clerks, Washington, D. C., has obtained retroactive wage increases at the A. & P. and Safeway food stores. Minimum weekly wages of \$63 for beginners and \$76 for experienced clerks were established.

Local 64 of the Chemical Workers has made substantial advances in contract negotiations with the Virginia-Carolina Chemical Corporation, East St. Louis, Ill. Other benefits include a seventh paid holiday and additional improvements in working conditions.

Local 142 of the Hod Carriers and Common Laborers, Topeka, Kans., reached an agreement with the general contractors calling for an immediate 7½-cent hourly raise and an additional 10 cents an hour July 1.

The Ladies' Garment Workers in Los Angeles have won a \$3 weekly pay increase in negotiations with the California Sportswear and Dress Association. The new contract also includes health, vacation and welfare benefits.

Local 27 of the Laundry Workers has won a state certification election at Associated Laundries, Inc., Syracuse, N. Y.

District 60 of the Machinists, Detroit, was victorious in an NLRB election at Parke Davis and Company. The vote was 176 to 137.



Herman Winter (right), Bakery Workers' president emeritus, demonstrates that he still knows his trade. See story below ↓

The A. F. of L. movement of San Diego, Calif., has decided to observe Labor Day in a new way. Instead of a parade, as in former years, the trade unionists will put on a big Labor Day Dance. Almost all of the more than seventy locals affiliated with the central body have approved the dance idea.

Local 100 of the Office Workers has negotiated a 12-cent hourly raise for 850 office employees of the Sandia Corporation at the Albuquerque, N. Mex., atomic energy project. A key feature of the agreement is a paid vacation of 24 days a year for all O.E.I.U.-represented employees.

Local 134 of the Building Service Employees has completed negotiations with the Crown Hotel, Providence, R. I., securing for members a retroactive 10 per cent pay increase and Blue Cross coverage paid for by the employer.

Local 624 of the Laborers, Danville, Ill., has settled a wage dispute with the Allied Builders Association, winning a pay increase and improvements in working conditions.

During a recent session of the General Executive Board of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers, the management of the headquarters hotel asked for a volunteer to demonstrate union baking craftsmanship. President Emeritus Winter responded to the call and whipped up a fancy pie in the hotel kitchen. Secretary-Treasurer Curtis Sims (at left in photo above) gave an assist to Brother Winter and President James G. Cross came down to check the finished product.

Local 49 of the Bookbinders, Milwaukee, has reached an agreement with the employers' association. The new pact raises men's pay 11 cents an hour and women's pay 8 cents. An improved vacation plan is provided.

An important election has been won by Local 273 of the Teamsters at the Atlantic Refining Company, Pittsburgh.

Local 16 of the Typographical Union has secured an increase of \$5 a week for printers employed on Chicago's daily newspapers.



Florence Dunn, president of Local 149, United Garment Workers, receives a surprise birthday gift and a kiss at local's banquet

▶A wage increase of 16 cents an hour, spread over a two-year period, has been won by 17,500 transit employees in Chicago. The boost was decreed in an arbitration decision. The workers are represented by the Street and Electric Railway Employees.

▶Local 315, Teamsters, Richmond, Calif., has secured a wage increase as a result of negotiations with the Pacific Tractor and Implement Company.

▶Local 544 of the Sheet Metal Workers, Portland, Oreg., has won a wage increase in all classifications and other improvements in a new contract with Portland area furnace manufacturers and other metal fabricators.

▶Local 107 of the Carpenters, Worcester, Mass., has signed a new contract with the Worcester General Contractors Association after a three-month work stoppage. The new agreement calls for a 15-cent hourly wage increase.

▶The Fire Fighters at Vancouver, Canada, have secured a wage increase of 3.5 per cent, retroactive to March. The agreement also provides for improvements in vacation and medical plans.

▶Local 2974 of the Carpenters, in negotiations with the Bradford Wood Preserving Division of the Koppers Company, Smethport, Pa., has won an hourly pay increase.

▶Local 324 of the Laborers has signed a contract with the United Materials and Richmond Brick Company of Richmond, Calif. The new agreement provides for wage increases of 7 to 10 cents an hour. The employer will bear the full cost of the welfare plan, which previously was paid partly by the workers.

▶Local 166, Ladies' Garment Workers, has organized the Stetson Pajama Company, Perth Amboy, N. J. This shop was non-union for many years. A wage increase, health and welfare plan, retirement plan and a better-than-average vacation plan are among the benefits provided in the first agreement with the company.

▶The A. F. of L. Brewery Workers in Newark have been victorious in a sixteen-day strike. Production workers have won substantial pay increases. Truck drivers are to be paid by the distance traveled and number of kegs and cases handled; the maximum possible rate is \$150 a week.

▶Local 760, Cannery Workers, Yakima, Wash., has obtained a settlement with Eastern Washington packing and canning plants. The workers get wage increases, better vacation and shift-premium clauses, and other benefits.

▶Local 143, Meat Cutters, has signed a contract with chain stores and big independent food markets of the Portland, Ore., area. A wage increase and other benefits were won. The agreement covers about 400 members and is retroactive to last March.

One Dollar for Your Welfare

(Continued from Page 12)

you do to see that the great social welfare and labor laws of the New Deal are not wiped out? Give your dollar to L.L.P.E. this year to elect better Congressmen in 1954.

Every dollar collected is set aside in a special fund which is used only for helping candidates for national office—Congressmen and Senators. Every dollar collected from every local union member is reported to his international union and to his state league. One-half of every dollar collected is returned immediately to his state league. The other half will be

saved as a reserve fund to be thrown into the most crucial 1954 elections.

Why is every dollar important this year? Because sixteen out of thirty-three Senate elections next year are in one-party states where the election results will be decided in the primaries. Within ten months these contests will be under way. We must be ready to help our friends. November would be too late for hard-pressed Senators like Kefauver of Tennessee and Sparkman of Alabama.

This is the "Class of '48" running for reelection to the Senate. That

year was a very good one for labor's friends, so we will be doing very well if we hold our own in the Senate in 1954. But holding our own will not be easy.

In the last election, reactionary interests themselves estimated spending \$100,000,000. Already money is being raised by the reactionaries to beat good Senators such as Douglas in Illinois, Murray in Montana and Humphrey in Minnesota.

Let's boost the other fellow's charity drives, but let's remember this year that one dollar for L.L.P.E. is for labor's own welfare. We help ourselves when we help elect our friends to Congress.

Some Facts About the Postal Service

(Continued from Page 5)

a worthwhile function in our lives? If the answer is in the affirmative, the next determination is how much in dollars and cents it is worth to taxpayers. In other words, is the postal establishment a social service or a business? And where is the line drawn between social values and business values?

We feel very strongly that swift, dependable and frequent postal service is a vital necessity in the life of every American, whether he lives in the humblest cottage or the richest mansion. Business and commerce depend on good postal service, whether it is conducted in a little country store at the fork of the road or from one of our modern skyscraper buildings.

The National Association of Letter Carriers has long maintained that Congress should once and for all define the mission of the postal service. The closest to a real definition we have ever had came not from the legislative branch of government but from the executive branch. In 1822, President Monroe told Congress: "Postoffices were made for the country and not the country for them." Congress has ducked the issue for years.

Until Congress faces up to the task and says how much we want to encourage our airplane industry, how great is the desire and need to increase the spread of information and knowledge through the printed word, how far we must go to facilitate the flow of merchandise, catalogs and other similar services to our sparsely populated areas, what is the degree of aid small town papers require, how far will business be subsidized through preferential rates on circulars and advertising matter—until all these are answered and unless they are answered there will never be a conclusive ending to the historical profit versus service argument in the postal establishment.

Business must share part of the blame for the apparent misunderstanding about the so-called postal deficit. One seldom, if ever, sees industry or our big corporations buying full-page ads in the daily press to publicize the benefits they are receiving via subsidies from less-than-cost postal service. Yet they never hesi-

tate for a moment to spread over the press of the nation their side of a labor dispute.

It is general knowledge that we subsidize the farmer and that similar gestures are made through our tax laws for business. There is no great clamor against this type of "socialism," even though only a segment of our population benefits. The entire population shares in the benefits of good postal service, yet the cry is always heard about "deficits," "spending" and "waste" in the postal establishment.

AS an organization representing postal employees, we have more than a normal interest in the balance sheet of the Postoffice Department. We want to make it clear that we do not oppose the idea of subsidies. Reality would seem to insist, however, that they be brought out in the open and paid for by direct appropriation instead of charging their cost to the operating overhead of the Postoffice Department. We not only favor a reasonable rate structure, we agree with those who maintain that upward adjustments should be made in some charges and fees now in effect.

The biggest handicap presented to postal employees when they seek legis-

lative benefits from Congress is the time-worn deficit bugaboo. It has been used effectively as a political football for years and is hauled out every time postal workers ask for a pay raise or other improvements in their welfare and conditions of work.

Our friends in the great American Federation of Labor can perform a genuine service for their colleagues in the postal service if time and effort are given to a better understanding of the so-called postal deficit.

If those who foot the bill understood what they are getting for their money and advertised the fact that they are satisfied with reasonable rates for good postal service, Congress would have a yardstick by which to determine how much of the cost of the postal service should be met by rates and fees and how much should be written off as a social service to the entire nation.

When that happy day arrives, postal employees will no longer be obliged to live under the cloud of an alleged postal deficit. No longer will their limited bargaining rights be further diminished because, unlike now, Congress will be able to give full consideration to the petitions of the employees.

As matters now stand, Congress is in the bad habit of keeping one eye on the merit of the employees' request and the other on public reaction to the so-called postal deficit.

Labor Backs City of Hope

FORTY years ago, in Southern California, labor-minded medical and social leaders founded the City of Hope. At that time working people who had become victims of tuberculosis in Eastern sweatshops began to stream to the sunny West in search of renewed health.

The City of Hope is a national, non-sectarian, free hospital. It has benefited thousands of trade unionists and their families. It provides the finest medical care in the spirit of fraternal aid rather than "cold charity."

The beginning of the City of Hope was a modest one, but today the institution is a famous national medical center. Its aim is to treat all long-term diseases. At the City of Hope is found the only all-free, all-cancer hospital under philanthropic auspices in the United States. Because of limited

size and resources, however, only a limited number of cancer patients can now be treated there.

A number of international unions are utilizing the facilities of the City of Hope for their members. The hospital is a haven for the worker who cannot pay the costs of long-term illness.

The American Federation of Labor has been a supporter of the City of Hope for a long time. The institution also has the backing of many international unions of the A. F. of L.

**ATTEND YOUR
UNION MEETINGS
REGULARLY**

WHAT THEY SAY

President Eisenhower — None of us can rightly forget that neither the



world nor the United Nations is or can be made in a single image of one nation's will or idea. The fact is that from its foundation the United Nations has seemed to be two distinct things to the two worlds divided by the Iron Curtain. To the Communist world it has seemed a convenient sounding board for their propaganda, a weapon to be exploited in spreading disunity and confusion. To the free world it has seemed that it should be a constructive forum for free discussion of the world's problems, an effective agency for helping to solve those problems peacefully. The truth is that even if the United Nations were to conform to the concept held by the free nations, it would still be bound to show infinite variety of opinion, sharp clashes of debate, slow movement to decision. For all this is little more than a reflection of the state of the world itself. An image of perfect symmetry would be a distorted image—the false creation of some nation's or some bloc's power politics.

Daniel J. Tobin, *president emeritus, International Brotherhood of Teamsters* — A



number of rich corporations have in their employ left-wingers who, if they could, would destroy those corporations. These companies give us the answer that under the Taft-Hartley Act they cannot discharge them because they are Communists or they cannot force them into any union, under the Taft-Hartley Law, and they have to employ them even, they say, if they do not belong to a union. And they give you all the other excuses, among them that these people have brains needed by such corporations.

What an outrageous insult it is to the American people to say that we have to hire Communists to get the work done! This is the form of dollar-made Americanism that we find in many places in big business, while the trade union movement, in most instances, bars Communists as it bars murderous gunmen and racketeers wherever it has the proof of such people being in its unions. The International Brotherhood of Teamsters has it written into its constitution that no Communist can be a member. If he denies that he is one and after a fair trial it is proven that he is a Communist, he is expelled.

Chet Holifield, *Congressman from California*—Some of those who seek so



avidly to change the atomic energy law believe that it is a good time to move in. They see an opportunity to soften up the Atomic Energy Act, to open the legislative door as a strategic maneuver now for self-serving purposes in the future. For example, not more than ten days had elapsed after the 1952 election when the president of the Utah Power and Light Company called for a reversal of what he termed "socialistic trends" by amending the atomic energy law to give more concessions to private industry. As if Senators McMahon and Vandenberg and the other distinguished framers of the basic law could be called "Socialists"! I do not intend to sit idly by and give silent assent to a giveaway program in atomic energy. The American people have a ten or twelve billion dollar investment in this program. When anyone begins to tamper with its legislative foundations, I for one will want to see convincing evidence that the public interest is fully protected. It will be important to make sure that this sudden zeal for giving industry greater privileges in the atomic field is not, as someone aptly remarked, a desire for "industrial participation in

the United States Treasury instead of in atomic power."

David Dubinsky, *president, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union*—Some think



that great ideals and dynamic ideas can only be handed down to the people from on high. We of the I.L.G.W.U. know that the most inspiring ideals and most powerful ideas often spring from the hearts and souls and minds of the great mass of the people. Often it takes diplomats and statesmen quite a number of years to catch up with the people. The reactionaries don't like American labor to help democratic labor abroad. They have been denouncing us for "interfering in other countries," for helping democratic labor resist and defeat Communist reaction and aggression abroad. The gangsters of the pen can throw all the mud they want. They are experts in this dirty business. The Kremlin welcomes their slanders against us. They won't stop us. We will continue to help those who are fighting against Communist, Fascist, Falangist, Peronist or any other kind of reaction anywhere. We know that reaction anywhere is a menace to progress everywhere.

Richard E. Byrd, *Polar explorer*—About the turn of the century we be-



gan to think that real progress consisted in technological developments rather than the development of man's ability to get along with man. Those nations were most highly developed, in our opinion, that could turn out the best and the most machines that have to do with transportation, communications and the development of ease and comforts and pleasure. What we have seen happen is the lopsided application of our total genius. Selfishness has developed inside man like a piece of concrete. What we need in this confused world is the brotherhood of man, the idea of goodwill to your neighbor, kindness, understanding and even compassion.

What 'Right to Work'?

By **GEORGE M. RHODES**

Congressman from Pennsylvania

AS a worker, I know what it was like in an industrial community before there was a Wagner Act. I have lived and I have worked under "Taft-Hartley." You need not read these two laws to feel the difference between them.

The evil intent of the Taft-Hartley Act has not been felt, except in a minor way, largely because there has been a high level of employment since the law was passed.

But if those who seek curtailment, or what they believe is "a necessary amount of unemployment," are successful in their endeavor, many unions could be destroyed. Growing discontent and disunity would follow as a result. It would be exactly what the Communists are looking for and is something that we should now seek to prevent.

Statements by employers which call for a float of unemployment contradict all the high-sounding remarks by these people when they express interest in "the right to work."

The enthusiasm for this right does not exist in most quarters when a worker grows too old to produce or when he becomes partially disabled.

Employer interest in the right to work is most prevalent when

an effort is made to organize a union. A good example of this can be seen in the case of an old firm whose owners grew wealthy in my home city of Reading—the Vanity Fair Company, an underwear concern.

Several years ago the firm moved its plant to a Southern city on one week's notice to the employees. Many of them had given a lifetime of loyal service to the company.

There was no consideration at all about the rights of these people. They had family obligations. Many of them had never worked anywhere except in the Vanity Fair mill.

In closing down so abruptly there was an utter disregard for community welfare or for the right to work, which was such a convenient argument when used to defeat the efforts of workers who tried to organize and win a voice about conditions under which they labored.

In my time I have seen the march from shanty towns and breadlines to full employment and a high level of prosperity and security. These changes were not made without cause or without effort.

We have good cause now for a change from the Taft-Hartley Act to a more just labor-management law.





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